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THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC (THE HARKNESS GOSPELS) IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

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THE GOSPEL BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC

(THE HARKNESS GOSPELS)

IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

BY

C. R. MOREY

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

CARL H. KRAELING

CAMBRIDGE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC (THE HARKNESS GOSPELS) IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC (THE HARKNESS GOSPELS) IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

By C. R. MOREY, EDWARD KENNARD RAND, and CARL H. KRAELING

FOREWORD

C. R. Morey

The manuscript which is the subject of the following description was recently presented to the New York Public Library by Mr. Edward S. Harkness. It was bought in 1926 from Mr. FitzRoy Fenwick, grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps, by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, from whom it came to Mr. Harkness. In the Phillipps collection it bore the number 4558. It was previously in the possession of the firm of Payne and before that had been the property of the Marquis of Blandford, fifth Duke of Marlborough, and was sold in 1819 as lot number 1381 in his sale of the "White Knight's Library," bringing the sum of seven guineas. The sale catalogue at that time described it as "Evangelia Quatuor Latine. A manuscript upon vellum which appears by the initial letters, &c, to have been written about the tenth century. The figures intended to represent the four Evangelists are drawn in the most grotesque and ludicrous stile imaginable, and are evidently of very great antiquity. From the Monastery of Como, bound in purple velvet."

The present publication of the manuscript is an interesting example of collaboration of specialists. The present writer, examining the miniatures in the spring of 1928, enlisted the aid of Professor Rand in procuring what evidence on provenance the script afforded, and submitted to him photographs of foll. 1^r, 5^v, 6^r, 45^r, 144^v, and 148^r, thus exhibiting the initial page, two pages of Capitula, one page of text from the body of the work, and two pages of the Calendar of Gospel-readings at the end. One ornamented initial (on fol. 1^r) was included, but none of the pictures. Professor Rand was asked to give an opinion as to (1) whether there is any wide difference in date between the three parts of the manuscript illustrated by the specimens sent to him; (2) what date he would assign to each of these three portions of the manuscript; (3) where he thought it was written.

To this he answered, in part:

> Here are my first impressions. The three parts of the New Testament were written by the same hand, or at least by very similar hands, in the same monastery and at the same time. The general period is the latter half of the ninth century, and the place of writing was in the north or north centre of France.

As I turned over the photographs of the Capitula, I noticed at least one interesting touch of Irish tendencies. The scribe himself was not an Irishman nor an Englishman but he wrote in a monastery somewhat affected by Insular influence. Of course it may be that he merely had before him an original in Insular script. Vaguely one could think of Corbie or some monastery in the neighborhood.

The two photographs containing the letter to Damasus and part of the text are written as usual with a somewhat greater attempt at elegance than in the Capitula, but the hand seems the same. The crude heading and ornamental initial suggest that it was not Corbie at which the book was written. At the same time one must reckon even in the case of the more important centres with what I call the "Revived Merovingian" movement of the latter part of the ninth century — likewise with a certain general slump at that time. My Irish hypothesis is confirmed by a correction made by another hand pretty obviously Irish — not the Simon-pure article but the work apparently of an Irishman or Englishman on the Continent.

Finally, the calendar, written even more informally than the Capitula — as is also usual — is by the same hand, or at any rate, by a scribe of the same school. There are one or two bits of evidence here to confirm my Irish hypothesis.

In the meantime examination of the *comes* or Calendar of readings at the end of the manuscript had revealed a special veneration for St. Winwaloe, patron of the Abbey of Landevennec in Brittany. Dom Beyssac, appealed to for an opinion on the neums of foll. 48 and 49, found them of Breton type. Professor Karl Young was kind enough to interpret the *litterae in superscriptione* of fol. 48 *recto* and *verso*. Miss Gertrude Kerner helped the writer in the matter of classifying the ornament of the manuscript, and he owes to his colleague Ernest DeWald the citation of the manuscript at Berne, of the same school and perhaps the same scriptorium. Finally Professor Kraeling contributed a thoroughgoing analysis of the text which confirmed both the Celtic basis and Turonian Latin veneer that produced the curious style of the manuscript's miniatures.

As a result of these observations from different angles, the manuscript is definitely located, as to provenance, in the monastery of Landevennec in the diocese of Quimper, in Brittany, and dated somewhere in the second half of the ninth century. It and its sister Gospel-book of Berne, identified as Breton by its relation to the Landevennec codex, provide the only considerable examples of Breton illumination in the Carolingian period at present known.[1] The Harkness manuscript thus pieces out the panorama of early mediaeval art in a most welcome way, providing us not merely with artistic reflection of the curious culture that resulted from the interaction of Continental and Celtic tradition within the immigrant population of Armorica, but also some insight into the Breton liturgy of the time, and the process by which the Celtic tradition of the Gospel-text was revised in accordance with Continental usage.

[1] I am indebted, however, to Charles Niver and to Meyer Schapiro for suggestions pointing toward further examples of Breton illumination, which I hope may prove fruitful.

THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC

THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS SCRIPT

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

Binding. The manuscript is bound in boards covered with purple velvet. The front cover is off and the rest of the binding is in poor condition.

Leaves. The leaves are of parchment, rather coarse. They number 152.[1] Dimensions, 281 × 212 mm. One column, 200 × 128 mm., is ruled for the text-space, with narrow columns of 7 mm. on either side to contain initials. Section-numbers and references to the canon-tables are put still further to the left in the margin, with no column-line ruled for them. Running titles occasionally appear (e. g. SECŌ at the top of the left-hand page, MATh at the top of the right), but no lines appear to have been ruled for them.

Lines. The number of lines on a page is regularly 29, but in Q. IV (foll. 22–29) we find 26, and in Q. XVI (foll. 117–124) 30. The smaller number in Q. IV may be due to chance. In Q. XVI, where the scribe has started the last Gospel, the ruling of an additional line is apparently deliberate. At any rate in Q. XIX, which he knew would contain the end of the Gospel with room to spare, he increases the number to 33, obviously with the Calendar of Gospel-readings in mind. Calendars of this sort were usually written in a smaller and less distinguished script, and the page accordingly could be ruled with more lines. That is why, in the last gathering (Q. XX), the number rises higher still, to 35. This fact alone proves that the scribe of the book intended to include something like a calendar after the conclusion of the text. The evidence of the script, as we shall see, shows that the addition intended is precisely what we find.

Gatherings. The leaves of the manuscript are generally assembled in quaternions or gatherings of eight leaves. When the modern binding was put on, three leaves of paper and one of parchment were added at the beginning and as many of each at the end of the book. There are twenty gatherings in all, of which all but the last (No. XX) either are now, or originally were, quaternions. The description is as follows:

I[6] (1 + 2 3 | 4 + 5 + 6) The back of the leaves is worn away. As Professor Kraeling shows (p. 237), this gathering was originally a quaternion, from which two leaves were lost.

[1] When I examined the manuscript, the leaves, with a few exceptions, had not been numbered. Later, the pages, not the leaves (unfortunately), were numbered. My references are to the leaves, not the pages.

II^{7} (7 8 9 10 | 11 12 13 x) The irregularity here is explained by the fact that this gathering is devoted to the canon-tables; only seven leaves were necessary.

III^{8} (14–21); IV^{8} (22–29); V^{8} (30–37); VI^{8} (38–45);

VII^{8} (46–53);

VIII^{7} (54 x 55 56 | 57 58 59 60) Between foll. 54 and 55 a leaf has been lost (see Professor Kraeling's remarks on p. 18); therefore this gathering was originally a quaternion.

IX^{8} (61–68); X^{8} (69–76); XI^{8} (77–84); XII^{8} (85–92);

XIII^{8} (93–100); XIV^{8} (101–108); XV^{8} (109–116);

XVI^{8} (117–124); XVII^{8} (125–132); XVIII^{8} (133–140);

XIX^{8} (141–148); XX^{4} (149 150 151 152). This last gathering was possibly a binion originally, but possibly it consisted merely of separate leaves. The backs of the leaves may have worn away, as in Q. 1. Today they are glued indistinguishably into the binding. The scribe assembled only so many as were necessary for his purpose.

Signatures. Signatures are found in the centre [1] of the last page of most of the gatherings, as follows: Q. IV (fol. 29^{v}) ii; VII (fol. 53^{v}) v; VIII (fol. 60^{v}) vi; IX (fol. 68^{v}) vii; X (fol. 76^{v}) viii; XI (fol. 84^{v}) viiii; XII (fol. 92^{v}) x; XIII (fol. 100^{v}) xi; XIV (fol. 108^{v}) xii; XV (fol. 116^{v}) xiii; XVI (fol. 124^{v}) xiiii; XVII (fol. 132^{v}) xv; XVIII (140^{v}) xvi. Most probably the remaining gatherings were originally signed, the signatures being cut off when the manuscript was bound. Obviously the quire signed I was that which today is III. One might adduce this fact as proof that the preceding parts, containing the prefaces, the Capitula or table of contents for St. Matthew and the canon-tables, represent later additions. Apparently the copying started off with the text of St. Matthew in Q. III. But inasmuch as the remaining Gospels are provided with Capitula, and the style of illumination in the canon-tables matches that of the pictures of the Evangelists,[2] all of which are on pages that form an integral part of the book,[3] it is fair to conclude that even if the plan of including prefaces, Capitula, canon-tables and pictures had not been thought of when the scribe began, it was adopted before he finished the text of St. Matthew. The evidence of the script, once more, confirms this inference.

Rules I and II. In arranging the leaves for ruling, the scribe paid only imperfect attention to what is known today as Gregory's Rule, or the principle

[1] This is the normal place for signatures in books of the ninth century. See Lowe, *Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 208.

[2] See Morey's discussion, pp. 36–40.

[3] Foll. 51^{v}, 75^{v}, 115^{v}, integral parts of Quires VII, X, and XV, respectively.

of placing hair-side opposite to hair-side, flesh-side to flesh-side. It was observed consistently in only nine of the eighteen gatherings [1] (Quires IV, VI, VII, IX, XII, XIV, XV, XVII, XIX). I will call this Rule I. Another regular practice of this period (Rule II) was to put the hair-side of the first double leaf on the outside, thus better protecting the gathering. In ancient books, on the other hand, the gathering was regularly faced with the flesh-side, presumably because there would be a protecting leaf, or protecting leaves, at the beginning and the end of the book.[2] Rule II is observed in thirteen of the eighteen gatherings (Quires, II, V, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX). It will be noticed that in some cases both rules are kept, in some both are broken, and in some the one is kept and the other is broken. This lack of system is one of many signs that the scriptorium where our book was written was not a centre of high art.

Number of Leaves Ruled at a Time. After the four double-leaves had been thus hastily arranged to form a quaternion, the pile would be ruled on the outer double-leaf, which had three beneath it. Thus four leaves were ruled at a time on the outer leaf, in the manner that I have termed Old Style (O. S.).[3] The gathering containing the canon-tables (Q. II) is ruled in a special manner. The ruling was done on what is now the inner leaf. Above, five lines were ruled of varying length to fit the large arch and contain the title. Beneath the smaller arches, twenty-nine lines were ruled across the page, to contain the section-numbers and the *explicits*. The columns of the arches were later drawn over these lines which thus cut across them inartistically. Clear traces of this ruling are seen on foll. 8–13^{r}. Not enough shows through on fol. 13^{v} to interfere with the picture there. Fol. 7 may have been separately ruled.

There is no trace of the more artistic New Style (N. S.), characteristic of the practices of the school of Tours in its best period.[4] It will further be noticed that whenever Rule II was broken, the ruling was done on the flesh-side of the leaf — the worst possible way, except when the parchment was so carefully prepared that there was little difference between the two sides.[5]

Enough pressure was applied to the ruler to secure sufficiently distinct lines on the inmost leaf, and it is thus easy to trace coincidences in the rulings in any gathering. There is always some slight irregularity — or some gross irregularity — in the lines to serve as a criterion. Pin-pricks for guiding the ruler

[1] I exclude Quires I and XX, since I is incomplete and XX may consist merely of separate leaves.

[2] See Lowe in Lowe and Rand, *A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger* (New York, 1922), p. 4, n. 2, and also my *Studies in the Script of Tours*, I, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, p. 12.

[3] *Palae. Lat.* V (1927), 52–78; *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, pp. 11–13. Quires I and XX are again omitted from consideration. In Quire VIII, consisting of seven leaves, the first three and the last four were ruled together.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–18. It is profoundly to be hoped that palaeographers interested in other schools of script than Tours will inform us about the rulings in the manuscripts that they study with particular attention to N. S.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

are found on only a few of the leaves.[1] The rest must have been trimmed off when the book was bound. The original margins, therefore, were considerably broader than at present.

Contents. The book contains the Gospels, with St. Jerome's prefaces, Capitula, canon-tables and the Calendar of Gospel-readings at the end.

fol. 1: BEATISSIMO PAPAE DAMASO HIERONIMVS / NOUUM OPUS ME FACE / re cogis . . . (fol. 2ᵛ) uel uicina dixerunt. / ITEM HIERONIMUS DAMASO PAPAE / Sciendum etiam . . . solum est. OPTO UT IN XPO UALEAS ET MEMINERIS MEI BEATISSIME PAPA AMEN ·,· / EUSEBIUS CARPIANO FRATRI IN DNO SALUTEM / Ammonius quidam . . . (fol. 3ᵛ) dixisse repperies ·,· / INCIPIT PROLOGUS ·IIII· EUANGELORU / Plures fuisse . . . (fol. 4ᵛ) uiuis canendas ·,· / EXPLICIT PROLOGUS ·IIII· EUANGELIORUM / INCIPIT ARGUMENTU SECUNDU MATTHEUM / Mattheus ex iudaea . . . (fol. 5ʳ) querentibus non tacere ·,· / EXPLICIT ARGUMENTUM ·,· / 4 lines blank / (fol. 5ᵛ) INCIPNT CAPITL SCI EUAGL / SECVNDUM MATHEVM / Generationum no(min)a . . . (*in mg.* titvlo ·I· titvl, IIII, T vi, etc.) . . . (fol. 6ᵛ) T CLXXXVIII Qui conseruum prope denarios centu suffocat. // (foll. 7–12 canon-tables; see Morey, p. 256) // (fol. 13) blank // (fol. 13ᵛ) Picture of Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists (fol. 14) LIBER / GENERA / TIONIS. IHV / XPI FILII / DAVID . . . (fol. 49ᵛ) ad consummationem seculi. / EXPLICIT EUANGELIUM / SECUNDU MATHEUM / hbet UERS II DCC. / 4 lines blank // (fol. 50ʳ) INCIPNT CAPITLA SCI EVAN SECVN MARCV. / TITL III ET erat iohannes baptisans . . . (fol. 51ʳ) T CLXXXUII Post resurrectionem apparuit . . . et receptus e· in celis dns / INCPT ARGVMTVM EVANGLI / SECD MARCVM / MARCUS EUANGELISTA DI ELECTVS ET PETRI IN / baptismate . . . (fol. 51ᵛ) qui autem incrementum pstat ds est; / EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO / 1 line blank / INCIPIT · EVAGL · SECD · MARC· The rest of the page is occupied with a picture of the symbol of St. Mark. // (fol. 52ʳ) INITIUM EUANGELII IHU XPI FILII / DI SICUT SCRIPTV EST IN ISAIA / propheta . . . (fol. 71ᵛ) sequentibus signis. / 1 line blank / EXPLIT EUANGL SECD MARC / 8 lines blank // (fol. 72ʳ) INCIPNT CAPTL SANT / EVGL · SECD · LVCA / TITL. 1. Zachariae sacerdoti apparuit . . . (fol. 73ᵛ) T CCCXL Post resurrectionem, apparuit . . . et benedicens eos ascendit i celis / EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA SCD LUCAM / 1 line blank // (fol. 74ʳ) INCIPIT PROLOG SCI EVAGL / SECD LVCAM. / LUCAS SYRUS NATIONE ANTIOCHENSIS / arte medicus . . . (fol. 74ᵛ) . . . quam fastientibus prodidisse. / EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO / 14 lines blank // (fol. 75ʳ) blank // fol. 75ᵛ Picture of the symbol of St. Luke // (fol. 76ʳ) INCP · EVGLM · SECD · LVC / QVONIAM QVIDEM / MULTI CONATI SUNT ORDI / NARE NARRATIONEM QVAE / in nobis . . . (fol. 113ᵛ) laudantes et benedicentes dm. AMEN / 1 line blank / EXPLICIT EVANGELIUM SECVNDUM LUCA / INCIPIT PROLOGUS SCI HIERONIMI I IOHAN / 2 lines blank // (fol. 114ʳ) Hic. ·e· iohannes . . . doc-

[1] See Plate XXXV, fol. 116ʳ, also fol. 133ʳ.

trina seruetur. / AMEN EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. / 3 lines blank // (fol. 114v) INCIPIUNT KAPITULA SŌI EUANGELII SECVNDV̄ IOH̄ / TITL VI IOHANNES testimoniū p̄hibet de xp̄o . . . (fol. 115r) T CCXXVI Et cum tertio manifestaret se discipls . . . pasce oves meas et sequere me. / 2 lines blank / EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA. / 3 lines blank // (fol. 115v) Picture of the symbol of St. John // (fol. 116r) INITIUM SC̄I EUANGELII / SECUNDUM IOHANNEM. / IN PRINCIPIO ERAT UERBUM / & uerbum . . . (fol. 143v) scribendi sunt libros. / 2 lines blank / EXPLICIT EUANGELIUM / 1 line blank / SECUNDŪ IOHANNEM / 1 line blank / D̄O GRATIAS AMEN / 17 lines blank // (fol. 144r) INCIPIT ARGUMENTUM QUOMODO IN / EODEM ANNALI LIBRO EXPONENDO NOMEN EVANGELISTÆ / CVIVSCVMQUE SIT VEL TITULI NUMERUM EUANGELIA / IN CORPORIBUS PRAECEDENTIUM LIBRORVM SINE ULLO / ERRORE REPPERIANTUR QUAE DOMINICIS AUT FESTIS / DIEBUS (VE)L ETIAM COTIDIANIS SECVNDUM CVIUSQUE DIEI / VEL EBDOMADE U(E)L MENSIS U(E)L TEMPORIS CONGRUENTIAM IN EC̄LA PER TOTVM ANNVM CONVENIANT / AD LEGENDVM. / VIIII K̄L IĀN In uigilia natiuitatis dn̄i secund math̄ . . . (fol. 150v) MEN̄ DEC̄B / ID.DEC̄B N̄L sc̄e lucie uirg̃ . . . (fol. 151v) EB̄D.XXIIII . . . p̀ oct pent̄ . . . ED̄. ii. ante nl̃e dn̄i sc̄ math. K. cii. Cum audiss& iōh in uinculis opa xp̄i Usque qui p̄parabat uiā tuā an(*ss.*) te / F· IIII· / F VI // (fol. 152r) blank // (fol. 152v) blank ///

Script. The book is written in French Caroline script of the latter part of the ninth century.

Headings. Crude mixed majuscules are employed for headings. They are often rubricated and sometimes, whether red or black, are washed over with dingy yellow bands; blue is once used for the band. The ornamental initials [1] are colored with blue, yellow, lilac, brown, and red. A few flashes of gold appear in the heading for St. John's Gospel (fol. 116r, Plate XXXV). At the beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark (fol. 52r, Plate XXXII), a fleck of gold dropped on a word in minuscule,[2] just below the heading, but no traces are now observable in the heading itself. There is no splendor anywhere. Irish and Continental motifs commingle in rather primitive designs. Capitals and uncials are not distinguished, and semiuncials are nowhere employed, with the exception of one capricious semiuncial initial 5.[3] There are vague traces of an effort at a hierarchical succession of scripts at the beginning of each Gospel. That of St. Matthew (fol. 14r) has a title in red, with the first words of the text in large square capitals surrounding the ornamental initial (L). The rest of the page is in smaller mixed minuscules. The *verso* shows a desperate effort for something like semiuncials or the Irish round hand. The next page (fol. 15r) descends to minuscules. Similarly at the beginning of St. Luke,[4]

[1] See Morey, p. 36, for description. [2] *Faciem*, l. 3.

[3] Fol. 23v: *Gratis*. Possibly this may be regarded as a modification of the Irish *g* rather than as a genuine semiuncial.

[4] Fol. 76r, Plate XXXIII.

the red title is succeeded by a line of text QVONIAM QUIDEM in what may
called large rustic capitals. That is followed by two lines of the same varie
in smaller script and with a touch of uncial. The rest of the page is in minu
cules. At the beginning of St. John [1] the first line of the red title sugges
square capitals and the second, in the first word, uncials. Then comes t
first line of the text in black majuscules, followed in the remaining lines l
minuscules. All this is of course leagues away from the perfect art of t
school of Tours. As the description of the contents will show, the arrangeme
of *explicits* and *incipits* shows a certain feeling for propriety in that the scri
often leaves blank the lines at the end of a page after an *explicit*, instead
crowding the following *incipit* on the same page. Now and then there is
Irish flavor in the headings, as in SECD on fol. 150v.[2] Note also the Irish for
of T (really the small letter enlarged) and the shape and the slope of C and
in the title of the Capitula on fol. 5v.[3] A typical specimen of the marginal i
itials employed is also shown on fol. 5v; they are mixed uncials with son
Irish touches. In the texts of the Gospels the scribe uses large initials, as ne
to square capitals as he can come.

Minuscule. One style of minuscule pervades the book and the ink, thou
changing from time to time, is of the same general color, a sloppy brown. It
a clear but not calligraphic hand, showing the Caroline style as mastered l
some Insular writer. The Insular flavor is easier to detect than to describe.
am decidedly of the impression, which I cannot prove, that it is characteris
of the writer, or writers, rather than that it is due merely to the reproducti
of traits found by a Continental (French) scribe in an Insular manuscript th
he copied. It may also be true that the manuscript copied was Insular. At fir
sight, one might be disposed to detect the presence of a number of scribes, b
after repeated study, I believe that the differences noticeable are due
changes of ink, pen, and parchment rather than to the participation of sever
writers. Granted that some four or five took part in the work, their produ
shows a mastery of the same essential traits.

In two short passages, however, the main hand (A) was relieved by anoth
scribe (B). They are found on fol. 22v, lines 14–26 (Plate XXVIII) and fol. 23
lines 1–15 (Plate XXIX). This scribe has an open *g*, whereas that of A is reg
larly closed. He also has an *l* of the usual sort, whereas that of A regular
makes a sharp angle at the base. Both scribes have the habit of adding no
and then a little horizontal line at the base of upright shafts, particularly
the letters *r* and *s*.[4] There may possibly be another relieving hand on fol. 30
lines 1–9 (Plate XXXI), but I cannot surely distinguish this script from th
of Hand A. A more careful scrutiny may detect others, but in general I pref

[1] Fol. 116r, Plate XXXV. [2] Plate XXV, l. 29. [3] Plate XXXVII.
[4] Cf. e. g., Plate XXXVI, fol. 1r, ll. 10, 12, 13, 16, etc.; Plate XXIX, fol. 23, ll. 2, 14.

to ascribe all the rest of the book to A, assuming that he can somewhat alter his manner from time to time, particularly when he tries for a special stateliness, as at the beginnings of books, especially that of the Gospel of St. John.[1] For the Capitula and the Calendar of Gospel-readings, he naturally employs a smaller and less formal hand.[2]

One other corrector there surely is, Hand C, who is obviously Insular. He does not appear often and he does not add much, but the nature of his script is unmistakable. A specimen of his work may be seen on Plate XL (fol. 45^{r}) and even better on Plate XXXIV (fol. 109^{r}).[3]

Orthography. Of Insular habits of spelling I have noted only a few instances, such as *pasio* (fol. 44^{v}) and *hoderunt* (fol. 149^{r}, Plate XXII). See Professor Kraeling's part of this article.

Ligatures. In general, ligatures do not abound. Those of *et*, *at*, *ct* (rare), *nt*, and *or* (frequent), suggest Continental practice. Most interesting is the variety of ligatures for *ae*. The cedilla may be angular (ę) or looped (ę) or in the form of an *h* (ę) or in an enlargement of the latter form (ę).[4] Most interesting is the peculiarly Insular form in which the *a*-stroke, a remnant of the first half of an open *a* is written on the line with the height of the other letters (cє).[5]

Accents. Various monosyllables, particularly *sé* and *és* [6] receive an acute accent. Two of these are used in the name *isáác* (fol. 65^{v}).

In one case, two acute accents are placed over the two *i*'s in *aliis* (fol. 89^{v}). Apparently the scribe wrote *alus* first, and then corrected the error by the use of the strokes; the color of the ink is the same. If it is really he who made the marks, we have here a very early anticipation of the regular practice of the later Middle Ages.

Transpositions. A transposition is indicated by the use of two acute accents over the words to be transposed. E. g. fol. 3^{v}: fűerunt fűres. Only a few cases occur and in all of these the two words are adjacent.

Punctuation. A dot is used for both whole pauses and half pauses, generally placed at the middle of the letter for both half pauses and whole pauses. Occasionally the dot denoting a half pause is supplemented by an acute accent[7] and the dot denoting a whole pause by a downward pointing stroke like a figure 7.[8] The form ·,· is sometimes found for a full stop, especially at the end

[1] See Plate XXXV, fol. 116^{r}.

[2] See Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII and XII–XXVII.

[3] His work is also found on foll. 46^{v}, 48^{r} (Plate X), 48^{v} (Plate XI), 111^{v}, 138^{v}, and a few other places.

[4] For specimens see Plate XXVIII, fol. 22^{v}, l. 3 (ę); Plate XXX, fol. 30^{r}, l. 26 (ę); Plate XXXI, fol. 30^{v}, l. 1 (e); Plate XIII, fol. 144^{v}, l. 5 (ę). The enlarged *h* form is very rare. I saw it once, omitting to note the page, and could not find it again. These different forms are no criteria of changing hands. Two or more may appear on the same page (e. g., fol. 74^{r}).

[5] E. g., Plate XXXVII, fol. 5^{v}, l. 12: *caeteris*; l. 21: *caeli*. Plate XX, fol. 148^{r}, l. 14: *caelum*.

[6] See Plate XXXVIII, fol. 6^{r}, l. 16.

[7] E. g., Plate XXXVI, fol. 1^{r}, ll. 13, 14.

[8] E. g., *Ibid.*, ll. 11, 19.

of an important section. Finally, the method of indicating a half pause by a dot placed low and a whole pause by a dot placed high — a method introduced at Tours about 820[1] — was known in the Breton scriptorium where our book was written.[2]

For a question-mark, a dot followed by an ascending curve is used.[3] Essentially the same form appears in the work of Hand B.[4]

Quotation-marks occur in one passage, cited from *Isaiah*, on fol. 80[r]. They consist of a series of short curves, running vertically along the margin.

The narratives of the Passion in the Gospels of St. Matthew (foll. 44[v]–48[v]; Plates X, XI), St. Luke (foll. 108[v]–112[v]; Plate XXXIV) and St. John (foll. 138[v]–140[v]) are accompanied by letters indicating the proper tone to be adopted in reading. The letter *c* is placed above narrative, † (a cross) above words spoken by our Lord, and *al* above words spoken by anybody else. In the Gospel of St. Mark we find instead of these signs the letter *h* at intervals, with *v* (*l*?) for the words of our Lord — possibly these letters were added later (foll. 67[v]–69[v]).[5]

Abbreviations. Symbols of abbreviation are plentifully used. The list (as complete as I could make it) is as follows. I denote with a star (*) those that occur with especial frequency.

autem = *aut̄ ꝯ (less frequent. Used also by the Insular corrector. See Plate XL, fol. 45[r])
enim = *H
ergo = *er̄
est = *ē (·ē· ē· ·ē) *÷
esset = ēt ē&
frater = *fr̄ (frs̄ fr̄ frē frs̄)
gratia = gr̄a
habet = h̄t (rare)
in = ī
mens = m̄s
nobis = noƀ
nomen (*nomina*, *nomine*) = nōa nōe
noster = *nr̄ (nr̄ nr̄m nr̄a nr̄is nr̄os etc.)
nunc = nc̄ N̄C
omnis = *om̄is (om̄i om̄e om̄s om̄a)
per = *p̲

[1] See *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, p. 31.
[2] See e. g., Plate XXVIII, fol. 22[v], in Hand A.
[3] See Plate XXXVI, fol. 1[r].
[4] See Plate XXVIII, fol. 22[v].
[5] For a discussion of such *litterae in superscriptione* and their significance, see Karl Young, "Observations on the Origin of the Mediaeval Passion-Play," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXV, No. 2, pp. 309 ff. Professor Young interprets the *litterae* found in Matthew, Luke, and John, as *c* = *celeriter*, *al* = *altius*, and the cross as indicating the words of Christ as above stated.

post = ṗ (rare, fol. 151ᵛ)
prae = *p̄
pro = *ṗ
propter = ṗpt̄ p̄pt̄ (*sic:* rare, e. g. fol. 131ᵛ)
quae = q·̇· Only once (fol. 125ʳ) and by correction from q; *Quae* is rarely if ever not abbreviated.
quam = q̣
que = q; (not abundant)
qui = *q̇ (so q̇d q̇s etc.)
quia = *q̣ q̣ (once, fol. 125ᵛ) q̣ (very rare)
quasi = q̄si
quo = q̊ (rare)
quomodo = q̊mō (fol. 134ᵛ)
quod = *q̣
quoniam = *q̄m̄
quot = q̣t̄ (fairly frequent)
secundum = secd̄
sicut = *sic̄
sunt = st̄ (not frequent) s̄ (rare)
tibi = ṫ (rare; *mihi* I did not find abbreviated)
tunc = t̄c̄
uel = u̇
uero = ů
uester = ūr̄ (urī urō urm̄ urā urīs urōs etc.)
uobis = uob̄ (uob̄ fol. 135ᵛ)

Syllabic Symbols

en: *men* = *m* with stroke, e. g. fermto
er: *ber* = *b* with stroke. Used freely, e. g. lib̄at̄ (fol. 6ʳ, Plate XXXVIII, uba for *uerba* seems a careless error)
ter = *t with stroke, e. g. pat̄. This abbreviation is given a wide range, as in pot̄unt (fol. 106ᵛ)
it: *dic̄ dix̄ and the like
ri: *pri* = ṗ fairly frequent, e. g. ṗnceps, ṗmus
um: *dum* = d̄ (rare, e. g. relinquend̄ fol. 5ᵛ. Plate XXXVII)
orum = *o̧
un: *runt* = *r̄t̄, as uener̄t etc.
ur: *tur* = *t̄
us: *bus* = b; (not abundant)

The use of a large semicircle for *us* is frequent. It is found above *i* (e. g. fil$\overset{\cup}{i}$ ill$\overset{\cup}{i}$); *m* (uidem̊); *n* (bon̊); *p* (op̊) and *t* (inuent̊)

Literal symbol

m after a vowel is frequently denoted by the stroke, even in the middle of words (as sūmi fol. 69^{v})

Nomina Sacra

$\overline{ds}$ $\overline{di}$ $\overline{do}$ $\overline{dm}$
$\overline{ihs}$ $\overline{ihm}$ ihū (less frequently i$\overline{Hs}$ etc.)
$\overline{xps}$ $\overline{xpi}$ $\overline{xpo}$ $\overline{xpm}$
$\overline{dns}$ $\overline{dni}$ $\overline{dno}$ $\overline{dnm}$ $\overline{dne}$
$\overline{sps}$ $\overline{spm}$ $\overline{spu}$ ($\overline{spu}$ immundo)
$\overline{scs}$ ($\overline{sci}$ $\overline{scs}$ $\overline{sem}$ $\overline{scoru}$, $\overline{sci}$ficetur, etc.)
Also ap$\overline{ls}$ (ap$\overline{li}$ etc) $\overline{dd}$ (david).
$\overline{eps}$ isr$\overline{l}$ isrh$\overline{l}$.

Technical or Capricious Abbreviations

These are found only in the Capitula and the Calendar of Gospel-readings. Thus on fol. 5^{v} (Plate XXXVII, l. 26) *domine domine* = d$\overline{ne}$ d$\overline{ne}$. On fol. 144^{v} (Plate XIII, l. 7) *discipulis suis parabolam* = discip$\overline{l}$ suis par$\overline{b}$. *In gaudium* = In$\overline{gd}$ (*ibid.*) etc.

A glance at the above list will show anybody versed in the subject that the evidence of the symbols of abbreviation tallies exactly with that of the style of lettering and illumination. Here are displayed the habits of an Insular penman who has surrendered some, but by no means all, of his native usages for those observed in the scriptoria of France. It is useless to specify details. One will find abundant proof of the statement just made by consulting the invaluable *Notae Latinae* of Lindsay under each of the abbreviations listed above and by studying the list of Insular symbols at the end of the volume. To turn to a different scribal world, one may examine the list of regular abbreviations employed by the scribe of Tours.[1]

The Neums

Communication of Dom G. M. Beyssac, O. S. B.

[Dom Beyssac was asked his opinion on the neums or marks of musical notation which accompany the narrative of the Passion in St. Matthew on foll. 48, 48^{v} and 49 (Plates X, XI). Professor Rand's examination of them led him to assign them to another, but nearly contemporaneous hand, as compared with the hand of the text.]

The neums which you have submitted to me belong clearly to the family which we call for lack of a more adequate term, and because one of the earliest representatives of this family comes from the Abbey of St. Père de Chartres:

[1] See *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, pp. 27 f.

"Chartraine." The manuscript to which I allude is that which the *Paléographie Musicale* of Solesmes has reproduced in one of its recent volumes.

This notation is specifically Breton (and not Norman) although there is a specimen of it apparently coming from Séez (Paris, *ms. lat.* 820: *Pontificale Iuuauense*). It is met with in manuscripts deriving authentically from Chartres, Orléans, Le Mans, Angers, Rennes, Redon, Saint-Vougay, etc. It spread also in the southwest and southeast of England, and a variety of it is found, strangely enough and so far without explanation to my knowledge, in the North of Italy, at Ivrea and its vicinity.

The neums therefore agree with the result indicated by the liturgical analysis of the document which you have submitted to me. If, however, you had expressed a preference for Great Britain, by reason of the traces of Insular script which I find in the first third of fol. 48^{r} (Plate X), I should see nothing to the contrary, save the observation that this Insular writing belongs to a later correction, while it seems, so far as one can see from the photograph and without examination of the original, that the neums are in the first hand. We should then have here, if the date which you give (and Mr. Rand is more qualified than I in this regard) is correct, one of the earliest examples of this type of notation.

THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC

THE TEXT OF THE LANDEVENNEC GOSPELS

CARL H. KRAELING

THE wealth of manuscript evidence for both the Greek and the Latin forms of the New Testament makes it necessary to divide into two parts the process by which we establish the textual affinity of any given codex. The first step assigns the manuscript to any one of a number of groups or families of codices. The second determines the place of the manuscript within the compass of its particular family. In taking the first step it is often sufficient to compare the codex with a critical edition of the text or version in question. The second step requires a cautious comparison of one manuscript with another. By reason of the incalculable factor contained in the host of uncollated and unpublished manuscripts, the second step is one that can be undertaken successfully only in the field, i. e. in the great European libraries. Our inquiry into the text of the Landevennec Gospels must therefore confine itself to the first step of the procedure. Even this first step is difficult to take successfully, first because collation is always painful, and second because there is no immediate mathematical certainty about the family relationship of an individual manuscript. Family characteristics are determined by the manuscripts representing the group. Like the river Oceanus that emptied into itself, the individual manuscript is both determined by and determinative of the group. A first statement of the case must thus always be tentative, and if, on the basis of a detailed examination of a goodly portion of the Landevennec Gospels and a brief survey of the rest of the material, we offer herewith a statement of their textual affinities, that statement should be taken as preliminary and tentative in every way.

The Landevennec Gospels, which have not yet been accessioned by the New York Public Library where they are now preserved, and which may thus best be described as formerly Manuscript 4558 of the Phillipps Collection of Cheltenham, England, or as Gregory No. 109 of the Vulgate codices, contain the following Latin textual elements in the order of their mention:

1. Jerome's Dedicatory Epistle to Damasus.
2. A statement concerning the use of the Canon-Tables, also ascribed to Jerome.
3. The Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus.
4. The Prologue of the Four Gospels.
5. The Argumentum or Preface of Matthew.
6. The Capitula of Matthew.
7. The ten Canon-Tables.

8. The Vulgate text of Matthew.
9. The Capitula of Mark.
10. The Argumentum or Preface of Mark.
11. The Vulgate text of Mark.
12. The Capitula of Luke.
13. The Argumentum or Preface of Luke.
14. The Vulgate text of Luke.
15. The Argumentum or Preface of John.
16. The Capitula of John.
17. The Vulgate text of John.
18. The Comes or Calendar of Lessons for the Church Year.

In the very order in which the elements appear we have an indication of the individuality of the Landevennec codex, considered from the formal point of view. The relative positions of the Argumenta and Capitula preceding the different Gospels vary continually. In connection with Mark and Luke the Capitula precede the Argumenta, while in connection with Matthew and John the opposite order appears. The reason for this fluctuation in the relative order of Capitula and Argumenta will later become apparent.

More important than the variation in the order of Argumenta and Capitula is the transfer of the canon-tables to a position after the Argumentum and the Capitula of Matthew. It seems probable that practical reasons dictated this change, for by means of it all of the prefatory material of predominantly textual nature, requiring the attention primarily of the scribe, was placed in one gathering, while all the material presupposing the work of the artist was placed in a second.

As it lies before us today the text of the Landevennec manuscript is almost complete, but not entirely so. Apart from minor mutilations such as appear on fol. 14^{v} by reason of the excision of decorative materials from fol. 14^{r}, as well as on fol. 113 and fol. 122, and apart from the apparent removal of the symbol of Matthew, which probably decorated one of the missing leaves of the first gathering, there are but two or three leaves of text missing all in all. The first break will be found in the Capitula of Matthew. The Capitula stop at the bottom of fol. 6^{v} with the words: *propter denarios centum suffocat.* These are the last words of the fifty-second of the Capitula of Matthew, which summarizes the subject matter of Matthew xviii. Since the scheme employed in the Landevennec manuscript divides Matthew into 81 chapters or sections, and since it took three pages or one and one half folio leaves to present 52 of them, it is necessary that at least one folio leaf with two pages of text be assumed to have disappeared. This, together with the symbol of Matthew, would raise the number of the leaves in the first gathering to eight, the normal number.

The second break in text comes in the Gospel of Mark. Fol. 54^{v} closes with the words *domum eius diripiet*, the end of Mark iii, 27. The next folio leaf, 55^{r}, begins with the words *seminatum fuerit in terra*, from the midst of Mark iv, 31. Clearly another folio leaf with two pages of text has disappeared.

In examining the textual data which the Landevennec manuscript puts at our disposal we naturally begin with the prefatory materials, both such as are included in the first and second gatherings, and such as are scattered about in the remainder of the manuscript in the form of Argumenta and Capitula.

The Dedicatory Epistle addressed by Jerome to Damasus with which the Landevennec manuscript begins is found also in codices ABCDE ℙGHΘKVY aur.[1] From the composite text which Wordsworth and White have established as the ancestor of these manuscripts, the Landevennec text varies in 55 instances. In 40 of these 55 instances individual manuscripts support the variations. As over against the composite text of Wordsworth and White the support of the individual manuscripts is given with the following frequency:

E	23	times	VY	7	times each
D	22	"	CHK	6	" "
aur.	14	"	B	5	"
ℙ	13	"	G	4	"
Θ	10	"	AJ	3	" "

A combination of D and E would satisfy 35 of the 40 variants that have outside support, the remaining five receiving support from various sources, particularly CJΘKV aur., no one of which by itself supports more than two of the five cases. Of the 15 variants without any parallel in other codices seven are palpably errors, seven concern matters of orthography and one is a matter of word division. The difficulties in orthography are none other than those of assimilation (*collatione* for *conlatione*, etc.), omission of the second occurrence of a doubled letter (*sumus* for *summus*, etc.), and interchange of *e* and *ae* (*querebas* for *quaerebas*). Neither of the two groups of variants not satisfied by DE would thus appear to be of great significance. It is therefore to the so-called "Celtic Family" of Vulgate manuscripts to which we must look as the source of text of the Dedicatory Epistle found in the Landevennec manuscript. The

[1] The symbols used to designate the Vulgate MSS. are those of Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Oxford, 1889–98. The MSS. to which reference is made are A Amiatinus, B Bigotianus, 𝔉 Beneventanus, C Cavensis, D Book of Armagh, E Egertonensis, ℙ Epternacensis, F Fuldensis, G Sangermanensis, H Hubertianus, Θ Theodulfianus, I Ingolstadiensis, J Foro-Juliensis, K Karolinus, L Lichfeldensis, M Mediolanensis, M̃ Martini-Turonensis, O Oxoniensis, P Perusinus, Q Book of Kells, R Rushworthianus, S Stonyhurstensis, T Toletanus, V Vallicellianus, W Willelmo de Hales, X Corporis Christi Cantabrigiensis, Y Lindisfarnensis, and Z Harleianus. Unless otherwise indicated the relationships of these codices are taken to be those established by Wordsworth and White, *op. cit.*, pp. 708–719: Codd. AH*SY representing the Italo-Northumbrian family, OX a mixed text with Northumbrian affinities, JMP an Italic text, CT a Spanish text, B𝔉G a Gallican text, DE℘LQR a Celtic or Irish text, H°Θ the text of the Theodulfian recension, KVM̃ the text of the Alcuinic recension, and W a late mixed text.

almost equal division of support between D and E, and the absence of testimony from LQR, the other members of the family, make it difficult to assign the text to either the Insular or Continental branch of the family, but it is evident that the text has been corrected slightly by Continental tradition.

The next element of the Landevennec manuscript is the additional statement concerning the use of the canon-tables. This second statement is textually something of a rarity, being found only in K and the manuscripts upon which Uallarsius [1] and Thomasius [2] based their editions of Jerome. Ascribed as it is to Jerome this additional statement is intimately connected by our manuscript with the Prefatory Epistle, the pious wish: *opto etc.*, which usually graces the end of the epistle being transferred to the end of the additional statement. In this respect our manuscript agrees with the codices of Uallarsius and Thomasius but not with K. The text being short there are but few variants, the more serious of which are covered by the codices of Uallarsius and Thomasius. The fundamental affinity of our Landevennec text at this point is with manuscripts the identity and character of which we are ourselves not in a position to control. Yet the non-occurrence of the whole additional statement in the Celtic, Northumbrian, and Spanish families shows that we are dealing with a highly localized form of text, and its presence in K would tend to indicate that it is a local variation of the Alcuinic revision as it established itself on the Continent that lies before us in this particular.

The Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus which follows this additional statement in the Landevennec manuscript, has parallels only in the codex Y and the manuscripts used by Uallarsius and Thomasius. In Y it follows the Prologue to the Four Gospels instead of directly preceding it as here. Though the few (20) variants in which the Landevennec text differs from that printed by Wordsworth and White give no great percentage of preference to any one of the few authorities, yet it is probable that here again the to us unidentifiable codices of Uallarsius and Thomasius, and particularly the one which Thomasius quotes in the margin of his edition of Jerome, are the key to the origin of the Landevennec text. The appearance of this epistle in the codex Y does not, of course, establish any relationship between the prefatory material of the Landevennec manuscript and the famous Northumbrian family, for the epistle does not appear in AH*S, the other members of the group, and besides, the text and composition of Y are admittedly irregular and show Continental influence.[3] Consequently, whatever the origin of the codices of Uallarsius and Thomasius, the letter to Carpianus as an element of the Landevennec manuscript is not Insular in any sense, but Continental.

[1] *Hieronymi Opera* (Verona 1740), vol. X. [2] *Ibid.*, (Rome, 1747), vol. I.

[3] It contains among other things the Neapolitan festival calendar; cf. Dom John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 8–14.

The next item in our text is the Preface to the Four Gospels. In dealing with it we again have a wider basis of comparison, for this Preface recurs in the manuscripts: ABCEHΘKM̄TY(Z) as well as in the codices used by Stephanus in his edition of the New Testament dated Paris, 1538.[1] There is an unusual amount of divergence in spelling between the composite text of Wordsworth and White and that of our manuscript, for instance in the words *aecclesiastica*, *aepistola*, *apochriphorum*, *monimenta*, *prochemio*, and *scindillae*, but it is the quantity rather than the nature of the divergence which sets the text apart at this point. The peculiar nature of the orthography accounts for the fact that of the 64 variations from the composite text of Wordsworth and White, no less than 32 find no support whatsoever in other manuscripts, for of these 32 unsupported readings five are manifest errors and 25 are matters of spelling. The support of the remaining 32 variants is divided among the manuscripts and editions as follows: ς 21, E 13, M̄ 11, Hier. 10, HK 9 each, Θ aur. 8 each, Y 5, B 4, AZ 2 each, codd. apud Uallarsius 1. The importance attaching in this connection to the text of the edition of Stephanus is again due in great part to matters of orthography, the spelling *quatuor* accounting for no less than seven instances of its support. Among the truly significant variants 8 are backed by HΘK M̄, 6 by ς and 5 by E. The codices K and M̄ will between them satisfy the fundamental demands of the text with the exception of the spelling and the *incipit* and *explicit*, both of which are related either to HΘ or to B. It seems clear then that in this part of our manuscript we are dealing with a Continental Alcuinic text which was profoundly influenced by Gallican codices, particularly those representing the Theodulfian recension, and has been affected, at some time or other, by the spelling of a Celtic scribe.

This brings us to the Argumenta, which we shall consider as a group. In the brief *Argumentum Matthei* a clear case of dependence cannot be made out. Of the 22 variants of the Landevennec codex over against the text which Wordsworth and White have established by the use of ACDEƤ HΘKM̄OQTVWX YZ aur., nine find no parallel elsewhere, four of them being of a rather serious nature. The remaining 13 are supported as follows: by KM̄ 5 each, by BCE ΘYVZ 4 each, by DƤH 3 each, and by A 2. Possibly the Alcuinic K and its ally M̄ are connected with the origin of our text, but their significance will be immediate rather than ultimate, since some importance attaches as well to the Theodulfian and possibly also to the Celtic codices.

A similar situation obtains with regard to the *Argumentum Marci*. Here we have some 24 variants. Of these the two representing the *incipit* and *explicit* find their support in the Alcuinic codices M̄V. In the rest of the text 10 variants are defended by W, 8 each by EHΘKM̄O, 7 each by TX, 6 each by CVYZ

[1] The text of this edition is indicated by the symbol ς.

I aur., 5 each by D, and 4 by Q. The text of codex W, being a mixed text, helps us not at all. The Celtic family has no independent significance and neither the Theodulfian nor the Alcuinic achieves exclusive importance.

In the *Argumentum Lucae* the 29 variations from Wordsworth and White entertained by other codices receive support as follows: from K 17, from W 16, from X aur. each 15, from M̄OZ I each 14, from H 13, from V 12, from Y 11, from c 10, from Θ 9, from BQ each 7, from DP̄ each 4, and from A 2. The Alcuinic group to which superior importance attaches by reason of K will, if KM̄V are taken together, satisfy all but seven of the 29 variants with any support, the remaining seven being represented in part by the Celtic group DP̄Q and in part by the Theodulfian codices HΘ. Once again, then, we have a mixed text in which the Alcuinic elements predominate. The support which the *incipit* and *explicit* derive from KM̄VZ is an indication that the Alcuinic elements were among the latest added to the text.

The *Argumentum Iohannis* stands in a class by itself. Its 18 variants with manuscript parallels find their counterparts in the codices as follows: in I 12, O 9, F̄CĒXȲ each 7, Θ 6, CKM̄ each 5, AVZ each 4, and W aur. each 3. The outstanding fact demonstrated by these figures is the relative unimportance of the Alcuinic text and the predominant influence of the family I(J)OX. Just what this fact may indicate the writer is not in a position to decide. If von Dobschütz's contention be accepted, we have in the codices of this family I(J)OX a fundamentally independent offshoot of the true Hieronymian text, secondarily influenced by Irish or Celtic manuscripts.[1] If Wordsworth and White be followed, the codex I will be grouped with OX as representatives of a secondary mixture of Northumbrian and Irish or Celtic elements. The former would give the text a Continental provenance, whereas the latter would indicate Insular and particularly English origin. We venture no guess in the matter at present.

We turn now to the Capitula which summarize the content of the different sections into which the four Gospels are divided. The first fact to remember in this connection is that there is no one single and homogeneous textual tradition for the Capitula of the Vulgate and consequently no one composite text with which we can compare the Capitula of the Landevennec manuscript. Widely divergent both in extent and form, the Capitula of the Vulgate can but be arranged in groups, groups that form parallels to the important textual families with the difference that they cannot be reduced to a single ancestor.

The Capitula of Matthew found in the Landevennec manuscript correspond to those of the type represented by the manuscript K, the fundamental manuscript of the Alcuinic text. No direct relation to the type found in manuscripts of the Celtic family can be discovered. At the same time it is evi-

[1] *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata* (Leipzig, 1894), cf. the stemma on p. 197.

dent that our Capitula of Matthew are not directly copied from K for the Capitula of K are disfigured by continual errors, omissions, and by a lax use of the cases none of which is shared by the Landevennec form. It would thus appear that in the Landevennec manuscript we have the Alcuinic Capitula in a more pristine form than that of the best Alcuinic codex. Just how primitive they may be is difficult to decide. As we have previously indicated, the Capitula of Matthew are incomplete in our text. The text of the Capitula in K breaks off still earlier. This makes any comparison difficult. Von Dobschütz and Wordsworth and White have furnished further materials which are intended to alleviate the situation with regard to the Capitula of K, but unfortunately these attempts have only aggravated it.

Von Dobschütz in his *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata*[1] published evidence for Capitula of the K type from codex lat. theol. quart. 139 of the Imperial Library at Berlin (= Gregory, 1457), a manuscript said by Berger to be written in an Irish hand, and from a Basle manuscript known as Bibl. acad. B II, 11 (Gregory, 1893) said to be in a hand of the scriptorium of Tours.[2] The two manuscripts are of the eighth and ninth centuries respectively. In that portion of the text of the Matthean Capitula which these two manuscripts and K illuminate, the Landevennec codex when it departs from K goes with the Berlin manuscript in 18 cases and with the Basle manuscript in 14 cases. Five of the divergences from K are supported by the Berlin manuscript alone and one by the Basle manuscript alone. But there still remain 36 divergences of the Landevennec codex from K not covered by either the Berlin or the Basle manuscript. Neither of them can therefore be regarded as a fully satisfactory ancestor of the Capitula of the Landevennec Matthew.

Wordworth and White in the appendix to the first volume of their Vulgate have published evidence from still other codices presenting Capitula of the type of K, but only for that section of the Capitula of Matthew not found in K, namely chapters XXXVIIII–LVIIII. Here we have then not only the Berlin and the Basle manuscripts as a basis of comparison but also codex 277 of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris, a twelfth-century manuscript (Gregory, 1234), and codex A 1, 5 of the Stadtbibliothek of Bamberg (the "Bamberg Bible," Gregory, 1396), a manuscript of the ninth century, said by Gregory to have been written at the command of Alcuin himself.[3] Since the Landevennec Capitula of Matthew break off at chapter LI, and since the text of K itself is missing at this point, the comparison of the Landevennec Capitula XXXVIIII–LI with the evidence available from these four additional manuscripts is not

[1] Pages 49–55.

[2] *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), pp. 253–254. Berger is quoted in regard to the Berlin MS. by Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, II (Leipzig, 1902), 691. On the Basle MS., cf. also E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, I (1930), 147.

[3] Gregory, *op. cit.*, II, 688. Cf. also E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, I, 117.

as satisfactory as it might be hoped to be. Of the 25 divergences between Landevennec and all the other four codices the Berlin manuscript covers virtually none, Bamberg and Paris each 8 and Basle 7. In three cases the Paris manuscript alone furnishes a parallel reading and in one case the Bamberg manuscript alone supports our text. There remain 12 divergences between Landevennec and all the rest not satisfied by any text, four of which are, however, patently errors.

The situation obtaining with regard to the Capitula of Matthew found in the Landevennec manuscript is thus somewhat confused. The text is clearly Alcuinic and clearly better than that of K. If the evidence from Bamberg A 1, 5 and Paris B. N. 277 were available for chapters I–XXXVIIII of the Capitula we might be in a better position to decide whether the superiority of the Landevennec text over K is due to a better representation of the Alcuinic text itself or is due to dependence upon the prototype used in the Alcuinic recension.

The Capitula of Mark, Luke, and John found in the Landevennec manuscript are of a different type entirely from that of the Capitula of Matthew. The type is that of the manuscripts of the Celtic family DℙQ aur., with which codd. GJ here agree. Their place in this family can best be determined by comparing the Landevennec text with that of codex D, the Book of Armagh, and by establishing the amount of support which they receive in their variation from D at the hands of the other codices in the group. To arrive at an immediate conclusion in the matter is, however, rendered impossible by the fact that Wordsworth and White do not list the orthographical variants found in the members of the family whose text they reproduce.

The Capitula of Mark as found in the Landevennec manuscript differ textually from those of D in some 89 instances. These divergences find support in other manuscripts of the group as follows: in *aureus* 59, in G 32, in J 31, in ℙ 22, and in Q 22. *Codex aureus* is the sole support of the Landevennec variants in some 20 instances, while G alone accounts for three and J for but one. These facts, together with the realization that the text of the Landevennec Capitula is carelessly written and that of the 20 variants with no parallel in any codex at least 10 are patent errors, make it evident that *aureus* here represents a rather close approximation of our text.

The same thing is true also of the Capitula of Luke. Landevennec here differs from D in some 210 instances. Of these, 160 have some manuscript support, the support being given by the individual codices as follows: *aureus* 143, G 72, Q 60, and ℙ 43. *Aureus* furnishes the sole parallel in 58 instances, with G and ℙ contributing exclusive support in six and four instances respectively. At least 12 of the 50 variants with no complete parallel in the other codices are in partial agreement with other readings, and here *aureus*

furnishes the basis from which all of the Landevennec variants could have sprung. Of the remaining 38 variants with nothing even approaching an outside parallel five are palpable errors, five corrections of case, three changes in order or grouping and two are due to the interchange of sacred names, while three may be regarded as abbreviatory omissions and six as additions from memory or sense. Again *aureus* furnishes a fairly satisfactory basis for our text.

In the Capitula of John the Landevennec codex varies from D about 106 times. There are 71 instances in which the variant reading finds outside support. Of these *aureus* satisfies 65; manuscript c, which enters here as a new factor, 52; G 37; Q 33; and ℙ 29. *Aureus* furnishes the sole support for 11 variants while G and c each account for but two. There remain 35 instances in which no manuscript supports our text, 27 of which can be explained as possibly due to careless transcription.

Before we proceed to estimate the importance of this dependence of Landevennec in three of its groups of Capitula upon the *codex aureus* it will be well to say just a word about the canon-tables, the last element of the prefatory material.

The Landevennec codex brings all of the ten Eusebian Canons in their usual order. It is possible that in copying the material from his archetype the scribe of Landevennec economized one or two pages of text, for in giving the four columns of figures which together make up the first Canon he begins on fol. 7^{r} by spreading them across a whole page only to condense them on fol. 7^{v} into two parallel groups of four columns, each occupying but half the width of a page. The material from Canon Two given on fol. 8^{v} looks similarly crowded. Possibly we have here the explanation of the fact that the second gathering of prefatory material contains but seven in place of the usual number of eight leaves. The Eusebian sections listed in the canon-tables divide the Gospels into the following number of paragraphs: Matthew 355, Mark 234, Luke 342, and John 232. This is the usual number except in the case of Mark, where 233 is more common. No great importance attaches to this slight variation, and the fact that the identical combination of figures is found again in the codd. ℙFITZ has little if any significance.

Considered with regard to their textual affinities the prefatory materials of the Landevennec codex naturally fall into five groups.

1. The Capitula of Mark, Luke, and John, representing a purely Celtic text.
2. The Dedicatory Epistle of Jerome representing a fundamentally Celtic text with an Alcuinic admixture.
3. The Argumenta of Matthew, Mark, and Luke together with the Preface to the Four Gospels in which Theodulfian and Alcuinic elements predominate over a small quantity of Celtic readings.

4. The second statement on the use of the Canon-Tables and the Capitula of Matthew representing an exclusively Alcuinic text.
5. The unclassified Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus and the Argumentum of John.

The antithesis between these elements is strongest in the case of the two types of Capitula. When the mass of the material is considered in the light of this antithesis it at once becomes evident that we have in the Landevennec codex a text compiled from two distinct sources or archetypes, one Celtic and one predominantly Alcuinic. To the former we may assign not only the Capitula of Mark, Luke, and John but also possibly the Dedicatory Epistle. The presence of a slight admixture of Alcuinic elements in this epistle may be due to the correction of the prototype by Alcuinic standards, a correction not undertaken in the case of the Capitula because of their relative unimportance. To the latter we may assign the remainder of the material, noting the fact that the text is by no means purely Alcuinic, save in the Capitula of Matthew and the second statement on the use of the canon-tables, but rather a mixture of Celtic and Alcuinic texts in which the two items mentioned preserved their purity for reasons analogous to those determining the purity of the Capitula of Mark, Luke, and John.

A number of questions remain to be answered. Did the scribe of Landevennec himself compound the mixture of Celtic and Alcuinic elements which our codex represents? What is the significance of the peculiar affinities of the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus and of the Argumentum of John? What is the principle of variation that brings us Celtic and Alcuinic elements in the different portions of the codex in such continuous interchange? To these questions the study of the text of the Gospels themselves may furnish an answer.

The text of the Gospels as given in the Landevennec manuscript is accompanied by the usual apparatus designed to facilitate its use. The left margins bring the *capitula maiora* or chapter divisions in large Roman numerals set off by a bracket, the total number of the Capitula (Matthew 81, Mark 47, Luke 78?, John 33) corresponding to the number of items listed in the chapter summaries preceding each Gospel. In addition we have in the left margins the Eusebian Sections or *tituli* together with cross references to other Gospels and to the canon-tables. These are written in small Roman numerals.

In both left and right margins of the earlier folios there are traces of Roman numerals larger than those used to indicate the *capitula maiora*, not written in ink but apparently impressed on the parchment by the use of a stylus. Possibly they too were intended to indicate Capitula, but if so it was a system quite different from that indicated in the right margin in ink, for with the Capitula of this system the uninked divisions agree only sometimes in location

and not at all in numbering. On fol. 16^{v}, for instance, we have the regular chapter numeral V in ink and in addition the uninked numerals VIII and IX. On fol. 41^{v} we have the regular chapter numeral LXVIII and the additional numeral LXXVIII.

There is evidence in the manuscript of still another type of subject-matter division. This is indicated by the appearance in the body of the text of the words *in illo tempore* written in heavy mixed majuscules. The phrase is sometimes expanded into the words: *in illo tempore dixit Iesus discipulis suis.* Longer and shorter forms together appear in the four Gospels 62, 17, 38, and 35 times respectively. The words themselves, and the fact of their non-appearance in the body of the Passion Narratives, betray their origin and their significance. They are the liturgical introductions to the Gospel Lessons of the Mass and are put here to set off the pericopes of the ecclesiastical lectionary.

The presence in our manuscript of these liturgical divisions of the text is not due to their insertion for the first time by the scribe who wrote our codex. They were taken by him from one or both of the archetypes with which he was working. A number of facts point in this direction. In the first place he has treated them very carelessly. Sometimes he forgot them and later copied them in the margin (foll. 36^{v} and 49^{v}). Sometimes he made them a part of the Gospel text itself (foll. 40^{r}, 3 and 44^{v}). While they usually stand and are intended to stand at the very beginning of a paragraph, the scribe sometimes carelessly inserted them in the midst of a sentence with the following result:

Fol. 23^{r}, 21–22.

21. ati et iacentes sicut oves non habentes pastorem.
22. Tunc dicit discipulis suis IN ILLO TEMPORE messis quidem etc.

The scribe apparently found the words *in illo tempore* on a separate line of his archetype after the conclusion of the section ending with the word *pastorem.* He transcribed them after this manner and then began his new paragraph *Tunc dicit* on the same line with the words *in illo tempore* instead of on the next line. In the second place, it is evident that our scribe did not indicate the beginning of all of the pericopes of the church year, for the first *in illo tempore* is found in connection with Matthew vi, 24, just as he failed to include the mark which should show the termination of the pericopes. His system, then, is a torso, and as such an imperfect copy rather than an innovation.

The final proof that the *in illo tempore* divisions were not introduced into our text by the Landevennec scribe will be found in the fact that the system of pericopes which they represent does not include the lessons Matthew xiv, 42–47, Luke xix, 12–26a, and Luke vi, 43–48 prescribed by the *comes* for the feasts of St. Winwaloe, his translation and the dedication of his basilica. This indicates that the archetype from which our scribe took his *in illo tempore*

divisions was not a product of Landevennec. Possibly a close study of the pericopes could establish the provenance of the archetype, whichever of the two it may have been. There is room for further research at this point. This much is certain, one of the two archetypes at least is connected with the liturgical rather than the purely literary strand of Vulgate textual tradition.

The machinery of our Landevennec Gospels invariably includes the *incipit* and the *explicit*. The exact formulas have been listed by Professor Rand.[1] The textual affinities of these formulas are those of the Alcuinic family of manuscripts. In the case of Matthew alone the *explicit* is followed by a stichometric reference stating: *habet versus IIDCC*. Such references being extremely rare in Vulgate codices (parallels in codd. DKV only) the appearance of even one in our manuscript is a sign of antiquity of source. Why there should have been but one such reference, and which one of the two archetypes it may belong to, are questions that will receive an answer later.

The text of the Gospels in our Landevennec manuscript, to which we now finally come, is not entirely uniform. One section, foll. 30^{r}–49^{v} stands textually apart from the rest of the material and must thus be treated separately. The major portion of the text of the four Gospels was written in a somewhat slovenly manner. Cases of dittography of words (fol. 104^{v}, 11) and of whole sentences (three lines duplicated on fol. 48^{r} and later erased) as well as cases of omission due to homoioteleuton (two on fol. 56^{v} and another on 57^{r}) abound. Traces of repeated corrections are apparent in the manuscript.

The latest of the corrections was done by an Insular hand in long, thin, uncertain characters.[2] This corrector limited his work to the Passion Narratives of Matthew, Luke, and John, a fact that reveals his liturgical interest. These same sections of the three Gospels mentioned show a system of notation governing the interchange of voices in chanting which differs from that of Mark's Passion Narrative. Possibly there is some connection between the Insular correction and this system of notation. The text which the Insular redactor used to improve our manuscript cannot be definitely ascertained. His text differs from that of the mass of manuscripts only in some eight instances, two of which show readings without any parallel whatsoever. The passages in question are the following:

	Cod*	Land	Cor. insul.	Cum codd.
Mt. xxvi, 24	Vae.	fol. 45^{r}, 13	Ve	W.
Mt. xxvi, 51	auriculam eius	fol. 46^{r}, 10	add. dextram	R(dexteram)
Mt. xxvii, 35	per prophetam	fol. 48^{r}, 7–8	per profetam dicentem.	$\mathfrak{P}^{mg}$ Q
Mt. xxvii, 64	priore	fol. 49^{r}, 5	prioribus	....
Lk. xxii, 8	misit	fol. 108^{v}, 4	add. Iesus	....
Lk. xxiii, 31	fiet	fol. 111^{v}, 1	facient	J c l r
Jn. xviii, 1.	egressus est	fol. 138^{v}, 7	add. Iesus	E.
Jn. xix, 24	in vestem	fol. 140^{v}, 26	super vestem	EFJ c vet. lat.

[1] Cf. pp. 8–9.

[2] Cf. the statement of Professor Rand, p. 11.

Interesting as these variants are they permit us to say little more concerning the text of the corrector of the Passion Narratives of Matthew, Luke, and John than merely that it is Insular, as we should expect.

The text of the Landevennec manuscript including the section giving the Passion Narratives has undergone additional processes of correction. In the bulk of the manuscript this correction is slight indeed and usually diorthotic in nature, applying to manifest errors in transcription. If on some pages the corrections seem somewhat severe, that is due to the negligence with which the codex was written rather than to the incisiveness of the corrector's work. It is probable that two different persons had a hand in this corrective process. The one is the diorthotes strictly speaking, who writes in a hand similar to but more sprawly than that of the original scribe, uses the same ink, and does not hesitate to erase the original and substitute his correction in the erasure. The second writes a more neat and compact hand, uses a somewhat heavier ink, and inserts his corrections between the lines or in the margin, introducing them by the word *vel* (cf. foll. 22^{r}, 32^{v}, 33^{v}, 35^{v}, 36^{r}, 37^{r}, 37^{v}). Textually these hands are not to be distinguished in a cursory survey of the manuscript, save that the diorthotes usually works away from the Celtic type of text, as in the corrections of *habundantia* (fol. 27^{r}, 15) and *habraham* (fol. 101^{v}, 8).

The last step of the corrective work to be considered is that which applies to foll. 30^{r}–49^{v}. The distinction between the correction of these pages and that of the rest of the text is not a matter of time or hand, nor even a matter of text, but one of intensity. Whereas in the remainder of the manuscript corrections are slight, they here mount up to unusual proportions (more than 500 on 50 pages) and consist usually of major operations which serve to disfigure the text rather than to improve it. Some few of the corrections belong to the Insular corrector. A few more derive from the neat suggestive hand. The majority, however, are by the sloppy diorthotes. With a large number of his corrections as evidence it is possible at this point to determine the nature of the text which he employed. This text has strong Alcuinic affinities — a fact that is indicated by the support given to the corrections by Alcuinic and mixed codices in most of the instances in which they depart from the reading of the majority of manuscripts. K furnishes parallels 35 times, VE each 33 times, M̃ 31 times, Z 27 times, W 26 times, J 23 times, and Θ 22 times. The following are characteristic readings:

	Cod*		Diorthotes	Cum codd.
Mt. xvii, 3	apparuit	fol. 33^{r}, 28	apparuerunt	JKM̃W vg.
Mt. xvii, 7	surgite et	fol. 33^{v}, 7	om. et	CJKM̃TVX*
Mt. xxiv, 50	ebriis	fol. 43^{r}, 8	ebriosis	ℙ*KM̃O*RVX*Z vg.

Yet it would be incorrect to call the corrector's text purely Alcuinic, since of the readings supported by but one manuscript three are satisfied by E, two by

by R, and one each by DFΘJM̄OW. It is a mixed text in which Alcuinic elements predominate that the corrector employs, possibly one of the two archetypes which together were used to produce our codex.

Without stopping to ascertain the *raison d'être* of the many corrections in the latter part of Matthew we pass on now to the consideration of the text in its uncorrected form as written by the original scribe. Here again we must, however, treat foll. 30ʳ–49ᵛ by themselves. In formulating a judgment upon the nature of the text in the remainder of the manuscript we have at our disposal a collation of Matthew i, 1–xiii, 55 (through fol. 29ᵛ), Mark i–vii inclusive, Luke i–v inclusive, and John i–vi inclusive. This signifies that our conclusions must necessarily be tentative. The evidence would seem to indicate that in each of the four Gospels we have a mixed text.

Of the 291 instances in which the Landevennec text of Matthew i, 1–xiii, 55 varies from that of Wordsworth and White, 258 have some form of outside support. This support is divided among the codices as follows: W 132, R 109, E 101, D 98, K 96, M̄ 94, V 91, L 88, Z 79, ℭP 77, vg. 76, C 72, Q 67, etc. Of the 15 variants supported by W alone only one is significant, namely fol. 16ʳ, 23 (Matthew 3, 7) *ventura* for *futura*. The others are merely orthographic. The prominence attaching to W in the above list is considerably reduced by this observation. It is further diminished when we consider that like the Byzantine manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, codex W reconciles and brings together the characteristics of a number of the more ancient families. In our case there are no less than 21 instances in which W furnishes the sole additional support to what would otherwise be a purely Celtic reading. This Celtic text is truly the more significant for our Landevennec manuscript at this point, there being 48 exclusively Celtic variants, six of which are of true textual importance. Of these we may mention the following:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mt. ii, 8	ite et interrogate	fol. 15ᵛ, 6	om. et	DℭPLR
Mt. v, 38	resistere malo	fol. 18ᵛ, 12	resistere a malo	EQ
Mt. viii, 14	febricitantem	fol. 21ʳ, 22	fębricantem	R
Mt. ix, 36	quia	fol. 23ʳ, 19	qui	CEQR
Mt. xii, 22	oblatus est	fol. 26ᵛ, 15	om. est	DE

But there are in addition at least 19 purely or predominantly Alcuinic readings that cannot be disregarded. Among them we find the following:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mt. v, 36	iuraveris	fol. 18ᵛ, 9	iurabis	KM̄Zᶜ
Mt. vi, 8	enim	fol. 19ʳ, 17	namque	KM̄Oᵍˡ VZ
Mt. vi, 16	vobis quia	fol. 19ᵛ, 1	om. quia	M̄Oᵍˡ
Mt. viii, 3	extendens manum tetigit eum Iesus	fol. 21ʳ, 1	extendens Iesus manum tetigit eum	KM̄OVZ vg.
Mt. viii, 20	et dicit	fol. 21ᵛ, 2	om. et	KM̄VXZ

The mixture is then, in this instance, one in which Alcuinic and Celtic elements are joined, with the latter somewhat more prominent.

In Mark we have a text made up, apparently, of the same elements with the Alcuinic readings predominating. The support of the variants in the first seven chapters is divided among the codices as follows: K 70, V 58, L 44, X 40, D 39, Z 38, ΘR each 37, M̄ 35, etc. Among the Alcuinic variants we have the following:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mk. i, 36	persecutus	fol. 53r, 6	prosecutus	K vg.
Mk. iii, 3	in medium	fol. 54r, 20	in medio	KZ*
Mk. iii, 11	illum videbant	fol. 54v, 6	om. illum	K
Mk. v, 19	dominus fecerit	fol. 55v, 17	fecerit dominus	M̄

But there are also directly Celtic readings, as for instance:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mk. ii, 1	et iterum	fol. 53r, 21	om. et	L
Mk. ii, 17	non enim	fol. 53v, 22	om. enim	L
Mk. v, 16	qui	fol. 55v, 11	quid	D

In the case of Luke the support of the variants is divided among the codices as follows: D 57, W 53, K 47, ℙ 46, V 41, M̄ 39, O 35, R 32, H 30, ℱCJQ each 27, etc. The influence of the Celtic family predominates in matters of orthography, as for instance in the *puplicani* of Luke iii, 12 which fol. 80r, 18 brings with codd. DℱPR, and in the *tetracha* of Luke iii, 19 which fol. 80v, 5 reads with codd. DE. Sometimes we find Celtic and Alcuinic support coinciding as in the *non enim* of Luke v, 32 to which fol. 83v, 25 testifies together with codd. DKVW. At other times the Celtic text is left entirely aside and we have the characteristic readings:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Lk. ii, 7	praesepio	fol. 78r, 23	praesepe	KVX
Lk. iii, 8	potest	fol. 80v, 11	potens est	HΘKMX vg.
Lk. iv, 35	illum	fol. 84r, 27	eum	KM̄OVX²Z.

In Luke, then, Celtic and Alcuinic elements seem of almost equal significance. The mixture is substantially the same as in Matthew and Mark, with this difference, that we begin to get at this point a slight current of influence deriving from the Gallican codices of the pre-Alcuinic days. This is borne out by the mentionable frequency of support lent by the codd. ℱ²G as well as by readings such as that of Luke i, 8 *fungeretur Zacharias* on fol. 76r, 20 for which the Gallican codex G alone furnishes a parallel.

In the Gospel of John, finally, the Landevennec variants find support in the codices as follows: in W 58 times, in E 55, D 43, R 41, ℙ 34, K 33, C 32,

JΘ 28 each, IV 23 each, O 22, HZ 21 each, T 20, ℱ 18, etc. The Celtic influence seems again somewhat stronger but still predominantly orthographic in nature, a possible exception being the reading of John i, 43 *crastinum autem* on fol. 117ʳ, 23 with DEW. The text manifests an increasingly large sympathy with the consensus of the Continental and northern tradition as is shown by the variants of John ii, 10, *tu autem* on fol. 117ᵛ, 23, supported by codd. BH ΘIKM̄OVWZ vet. lat. and John iii, 3 *renatus* on fol. 118ʳ, ult., supported by ℱEHᶜΘRS*Z* vet. lat. The way is thus prepared for the appearance at this point of readings derived from the Greek and the Old Latin texts. John iii, 27 *fuerit datum ei*, which occurs on fol. 119ʳ, 12 has its sole counterpart in the Greek word order, and was suggested as the original by Bentley,[1] while John i, 51 *dixit* on fol. 117ᵛ, 6 finds support only in the Old Latin texts b e q and in the Greek cod. ℵ.

In general it may then be said that the text of the Landevennec Gospels, save that of foll. 30ʳ–49ᵛ, is a mixed text combining Celtic and Alcuinic elements in various ways with varying results, and tending as the process of amalgamation proceeds to take cognizance also of Gallican or universally north European elements of textual tradition.

We come now, finally, to the consideration of the text of foll. 30ʳ–49ᵛ. It has previously been stated that in the fifty pages thus set aside by themselves corrections mount up to unusual proportions. This fact would find a simple explanation if the text of these pages differed from that of the bulk of the manuscript, and that is actually the case. The nature of the difference is illuminated by the support which the codices give to readings of Landevennec that vary from the standard of Wordsworth and White. Such support is given by R in 376 instances, by E in 296, L in 278, W 243, Q 229, D 216, ℙ 169, COT each 116, J 103, Θ 102, B 99, K 98, M̄Z each 95, V 87, etc. There is a clear preponderance of affinity with the Celtic family as represented by the codices DEℙ LQR and their dependent W. The Alcuinic codices stand at the very foot of the list. An examination of the variants themselves, moreover, shows a very large proportion of readings supported exclusively by Celtic codices. On the very first folio of our section, fol. 30ᵛ we have the following four instances of this type of affinity:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mt. xiv, 22	donec	fol. 30ᵛ, 18	add. ipse	DQR
Mt. xiv, 24	enim	fol. 30ᵛ, 21	autem illis	DQR
Mt. xiv, 25	ad eos	fol. 30ᵛ, 22	add. Iesus	DR
Mt. xiv, 28	autem	fol. 30ᵛ, 27	add. ei	DER

The evidence on this point being so strong it is not a question whether or not we have here a predominantly Celtic text, but rather a question whether

[1] Cf. Wordsworth and White, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

or not we have here a purely Celtic text. The answer naturally depends upon the number and the character of non-Celtic readings to be found within the compass of the fifty pages of material. Purely non-Celtic readings are quite rare in these pages, but they do occur now and then. It is evident at once, however, that these non-Celtic readings are not recensional in character, that is neither directly Theodulfian nor Alcuinic. The one or two cases of properly Alcuinic variants are matters of orthography alone which any post-Alcuinic scribe, such as the writer of Landevennec, could have introduced without recourse to text. The appearance of *Isaias* on fol. 31^{r}, 24, a reading supported by KMM̄VWZ, in place of the *Esaias* of the rest of the codices is a case in point (Matthew xv, 7). It can scarcely throw light upon the fundamental issue. In variants of a truly textual nature the Landevennec manuscript of foll. 30^{r}–49^{v} where it departs from the Celtic standards tends to find support in the codices ACFHOTX, codices representing the Northumbrian, Spanish, Gallican, and Italic families of texts. The following are the more important examples of variation in these directions:

	Codd. plur.		Landevennec	Cum codd.
Mt. xiii, 55	fratres	fol. 30^{r}, 2	frater	A T
Mt. xvii, 20	amen quippe	fol. 34^{r}, 1	om. quippe	CT
Mt. xix, 18	facies furtum	fol. 36^{r}, 9	furtum facies	F
Mt. xix, 28	sederit	fol. 36^{r}, 26–27	sederet	H
Mt. xx, 17	Iesus	fol. 37^{r}, 6	add. in	T
Mt. xx, 24	audientes	fol. 37^{r}, 21	add. autem	J
Mt. xxi, 24	interrogabo	fol. 38^{r}, 28	interrogo	FO^{sax}
Mt. xxii, 11	veste	fol. 39^{v}, 12	vestem	H
Mt. xxii, 32	viventium	fol. 40^{r}, 18	vivorum	FO*X*
Mt. xxvi, 64	virtutis	fol. 46^{v}, 11	add. dei	FT vg.

The contacts between Landevennec foll. 30^{r}–49^{v} and the non-Celtic texts being so highly diversified, it will be necessary to conclude that we are dealing at this point with a virtually pure Celtic text, and that factors other than that of contamination determine the existence of these parallels in other families. In the case of a non-recensional text, age is the natural determinant to suggest.

With the data concerning the Gospel text of the Landevennec manuscript before us we are in a position to verify some of the conclusions previously drawn from the examination of the prefatory materials, and to clarify certain details previously left undetermined and unexplained.

The general hypothesis that no less than two archetypes were employed in producing our manuscript has found its substantiation, for if the text of foll. 30^{r}–49^{v} had come with the Alcuinic archetype the chances are that it would already have undergone at least one diorthotic correction, in which instance

the pages in question would present an appearance different from that which they actually have. Of these two archetypes one is virtually pure Celtic. It accounts for the last half of Matthew, the Capitula of Mark, Luke, and John and possibly, though not certainly, for the Dedicatory Epistle. The second of the archetypes is a mixed text in which Celtic and Alcuinic elements meet, having been blended in various ways. The significance which attaches to the Gallican tradition in the later portions of this second archetype explains the presence of an Argumentum Iohannis in the textual form of the family IOX, if von Dobschütz's contention with regard to this family is correct.

What the principle was according to which the interchange of the archetypes as sources for our manuscript was determined can be made evident at least in part. The composition of the Landevennec codex began, as Professor Rand has indicated, with the transcription of Matthew.[1] This we know from the fact that the signatures imply the number I for the gathering upon which is inscribed the beginning of Matthew. The prefatory materials in the first and second gatherings of the present order must then have been added subsequently. Yet these introductory gatherings will have been projected before the transcription of Mark was begun, since the prefatory materials proper to Mark, Luke, and John were intercalated between the Gospels without a break in the gatherings. Now the text inscribed upon the gatherings numbered I and II (i. e. III and IV of the present order) is that of the mixed archetype. When he began the transcription of gathering III (i. e. V of the present order) the scribe changed to the Celtic archetype. But if he later abandoned the Celtic manuscript entirely in transcribing his Gospels, his change from the mixed to the Celtic archetype can scarcely have been dictated by an objective preference for the latter's type of text. An exigency of a practical nature must have determined the interchange. Possibly the mixed Alcuinic codex was being employed in some other connection while the gatherings which should have been numbered III and IV and the first five leaves of the gathering actually numbered V were being written. We suggest that it was the projection and transcription of the prefatory material in which the mixed codex was needed and was being used. Three facts would seem to point in this direction. In the first place, the projection of the prefatory gatherings falls into the period of time between the beginning of the transcription of Matthew and the beginning of the transcription of Mark. In the second place, the prefatory materials represent a text that is predominantly mixed. In the third place, judging by the amount and kind of material transcribed in each case, the period of time during which the Celtic archetype was used as a source for Matthew corresponds to the period of time required for the transcription and illumination of the prefatory gatherings.

[1] Cf. p. 6.

Why the Celtic codex was abandoned at the end of the Capitula of Mark is not difficult to explain. This codex was not the transcriber's first choice as a textual source to begin with, and besides it does not seem to have contained the Argumentum of Mark, which was added from the mixed codex. Why the transcriber returned to his Celtic archetype for the Capitula of Luke and John is not entirely evident. Perhaps it was because they were shorter.

The use of the Celtic archetype as a basis for the text of the latter part of Matthew and for the Capitula of Mark explains two peculiarities of the Landevennec manuscript. The first is the appearance of a single stichometric reference, namely, at the end of Matthew. The Celtic archetype probably had four of them, one at the end of each Gospel, but only one was copied because the Celtic manuscript was used as a source for the text of the Gospels only in connection with Matthew. The mixed archetype, on the other hand, had none at all. The second is the precedence given to the Capitula of Mark over the Argumentum of Mark. The unusual order at this point is determined by the fact that the scribe copying from the Celtic archetype continued with the Celtic Capitula of Mark after finishing the text of Matthew, oblivious of the need for the Argumentum which he added subsequently from the mixed archetype to which he reverted at this point.

The date and provenance of the Landevennec manuscript, when considered from the angle of the text, must be determined with reference to the sources used and the way in which they are blended. Of the two archetypes the Celtic is unquestionably the older. Its relatively pure text, lacking all recensional affinities, and showing contacts with the Greek and Old Latin textual tradition in readings and stichometry, will certainly be pre-Carolingian. The mixed archetype, embodying as it does strong Alcuinic elements, will naturally be Carolingian in date. The relative purity of its Alcuinic Capitula of Matthew and the fact that it combines Celtic and Alcuinic materials as well as a slight Gallican element, bid us look to an early time in the Carolingian era when the influence of the Alcuinic texts had not yet gained the importance which it later had. The rather naïve way in which the Landevennec scribes placed large blocks of material from these two archetypes side by side within the compass of one manuscript shows that they worked at a time not very far removed from the days of Alcuin, or at a place quite remote from the monastery of Tours, or both. The effects of the Carolingian renaissance are not in evidence.

The fact that the *in illo tempore* divisions do not indicate the pericopes used for the days sacred to St. Winwaloe would seem to show that one of the two archetypes, probably the Alcuinic, was temporarily borrowed from some other religious community. The circumstances of the scribes and of the group for which they were working must have been rather meagre. Certainly the

large amount of scribal error in matters of dittography and wholesale omissions due to homoioteleuton reveal that we are not dealing with the work of a professional or professionals but with the work of men who undertook their task by reason of some immediate necessity, such as the need for a second copy of Scripture. The lack of homogeneity in spelling points in the same direction.

THE ILLUMINATION OF THE LANDEVENNEC GOSPELS

C. R. Morey

The initials of the manuscript that deserve the rank of illumination are found in fol. 1, fol. 14 (L; Fig. 5), fol. 52, fol. 76 (Q; Fig. 7), and fol. 116, the last four being the initials of the four Gospels. All save the Q of Luke, which adds purple, are done in the ink of the text with washes in yellow and blue, and the addition of red in the initials of Luke and John.

The same palette of yellow, red, and blue (the purple is provided by mixing the red and blue) prevails throughout the twelve canon-tables (Figs. 11–16). These are of the customary type which originated in the East, was adopted in Italy by the seventh century, and imitated in the North from the eighth century; the canons are arranged in the intercolumniations of an arcade spanned by an embracing arch, but the architectural similitude stops with this, the colonnettes and archivolts being mere bands of ornament. The colonnettes were originally designed at greater length; the *pentimenti* are visible in our reproductions of the pages. This ornament, often panelled in Celtic fashion (Figs. 11, 14), has the coarseness, large scale, and casual quality of Merovingian tradition, to which also belong the crude birds and beasts that occasionally enliven these pages, together with the plaid effect of the rendering of the feathers of the birds (Fig. 11), and the termination of tails in leaves (Fig. 15). The birds, which appear on the first canon-page (fol. 7) as filling for the two lunettes (Fig. 11), and singly on foll. 7^v and 9^v (Figs. 12, 13), invariably hold a fish in their talons or beaks, a motif rare enough in Merovingian and Carolingian ornament to suggest a locality on the seacoast. The curious transcending of the border by the oversized bird of the second table (Fig. 12) is due to its having been drawn between the longer colonnettes of the first design, which was shortened when the color was put in. A border was added to terminate the arcade at the bottom, which was necessarily drawn across the body of the bird; this bottom border is found only in this and the following table. A nondescript quadruped is introduced into the central bay of the table on fol. 11^v (Fig. 14), licking the stem of a leaf with his elongated tongue, and two similar beasts appear at the bottom of the following table, labelled *Musa* and *Arta* (Fig. 15); the writer can think of nothing more learned to suggest in explanation of these names than the possibility that they are the names of pets of the monastery.

The motifs of ornament are not of great variety. Some are of Merovingian tradition — the crossed rectangles, rosettes, and coarse guilloche. Others betray Celtic influence, such as the panelling and the interlace. The kaleidoscopic motif (Fig. 16) that appears on the last canon-page may be a decadent

garland, and the undulating band which sometimes adorns the colonnettes (Fig. 13) looks like a feeble reminiscence of the marbling which lends some architectural illusion to the canon-tables of Carolingian Gospel-books of the "Ada" and "Palatine" schools. The most prevalent motifs are the coarse guilloche (Fig. 12) and the wave, or undulating stem (Fig. 11), adorned with leaves that are decadent versions of acanthus or palmettes, degraded at times to mere crockets. The capitals run the gamut from a stepped rectangular impost-block — the commonest form (Fig. 12) — through rosettes (Fig. 15) and other translations of the Corinthian capital (or a mere reduction thereof to two volutes) to decadent versions of the "cabbage" type (Figs. 13, 16) derived by Carolingian illuminators of the North from Italian canon-tables of the seventh and eighth centuries. Crudely drawn leaves sometimes appear as detached motifs between the colonnettes, or in the spandrels of the lunette, or sprout from the impost-blocks of the capitals (Figs. 11, 12).

These leaves that issue from or fill the corners of the design, as in the latter case, are characteristic also of the initials of the manuscript (Fig. 5), where they spring as half-palmettes from the extremities of the letters in a manner resembling the leaf-terminals of initials in manuscripts of the late eighth or early ninth century, belonging to what Zimmermann, in his *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, has called the "school of Corbie." Another feature, found in the initial Q of Luke (Fig. 7) and also as a decoration of the frames of the miniatures on foll. 13^{v}, 75^{v}, and 115^{v} (Figs. 1, 3, 4), is a well-known motif in that wide-flung Franco-Saxon style, which focussed, to judge from the sacramentaries decorated in this manner, in the north of France and in Belgium, but spread its influence into Germany and south through the west of France even into Spain. The feature in question is the interlocking of two crocketed loops resulting in a volute, which is the habitual terminal motif of Franco-Saxon initials and can be found decorating the sides of initials as well, in a manner resembling the use of the motif in our borders, in a Gospel-book of Franco-Saxon style in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*nouv. acq. lat. 1587*), assigned by Zimmermann to the north of France, "under Irish influence." This manuscript is dated by Zimmermann in the ninth century; earlier use of the motif can be found in the Gospels of Lindisfarne, an Anglo-Celtic product of Northumbria, in the early eighth century, indicating its ultimate Celtic origin.

According to Zimmermann, the Paris manuscript was in Tours in the ninth century. A distinct reminiscence of Tours appears in the lancets or ivy-leaves which terminate the corners of the border of our frontispiece (Fig. 1), this being a frequent motif in the Carolingian miniatures of Tours. They are treated coarsely in our manuscript, with none of the minuteness of scale which delights the observer of Carolingian products of the Tours scriptoria, and the

same may be said of the primitive way in which the Franco-Saxon loop is handled. In both instances, the art of our manuscript offers a barbarized version of borrowed motifs.

Following, however, the clue afforded by the ivy-leaves of Tours, we find much in our illumination to connect it with the lower valley of the Loire. The leaf-terminals, the occasional knot-work in the colonnettes, and the crude palmette borders appear in No. 20 of the city library of Angers (Figs. 19, 21), a Gospel-book with a Celtic text but certainly not of Insular origin. Its mixture of Continental and Celtic recalls our own manuscript, and its present location at Angers, in the absence of any previous history, bears out a probable Breton origin. Berger and Beissel date the manuscript in the ninth or tenth century.[1]

Even closer resemblance to the ornament of our manuscript is afforded by No. 85 in the public library of Berne, a Vulgate Gospel-book assigned by Hagen[2] to the ninth century. The initials (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8) are extremely similar in both manuscripts and the Berne codex shares with the Gospel-book of Landevennec the beak-like snout given to the symbols of Mark and Luke; indeed the identity of style of these beast-headed Evangelists with those of the Landevennec Gospels is very striking (Fig. 10). The canon-tables (Fig. 20), too, are of the type of the New York manuscript, sharing with it the peculiarity of the triple-banded archivolts of the arcade.

The codex of Berne is without a history; we have only, to guide us as to its provenance, the statement of Hagen "omnes fere nostrae bibliothecae saeculi IX vel X libri ad claustrum Floriacense sive Petrum Danielem referendi sunt," i. e., they belong to the books saved from the library of Fleury, on the Loire, when the monastery was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562, by Pierre Daniel of Orléans. Professor Rand, to whom the writer submitted a few photographs of the text, noted the influence of Tours in the script, and assigned a date in the second half of the ninth century. There can be little doubt to one who compares the initials, miniatures, and canon-tables of the Berne Gospels, of which specimens are reproduced in Figs. 6, 8, 9, 10, and 20, with those of the Landevennec Gospels, that both belong to the same school, and that the location of our manuscript in Landevennec ensures a Breton origin for the Gospel-book of Berne, if it be not from the same monastery of Landevennec itself.[3]

[1] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 48, 49, 375; Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, p. 128.

[2] *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium* (Berne, 1875), p. 103.

[3] Professor Rand's new book, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, has produced in its plates some interesting parallels to the initials and ornament of the Landevennec Gospels, notably the initials of the Bible of Angers (no. 2; Rand, no. 70; Plates LXXXV, LXXXVI), and British Museum Egerton 609 (Rand, no. 140; Plate CLI). In the first one may compare the "encircled" birds that fill the arcs of initials as they do the archivolts of our first canon-page (Fig. 11), and the resemblance of interlace and leaf-work in the initials; the manuscript is dated by Rand c. 820(?). The other manuscript, a Gospel-book from Marmoutier, was written by "one scribe, apparently an

Fleury, again, is the provenance assigned by Zimmermann to the Gundohinus Gospels in the city library of Autun which shows in its ornament (Fig. 17) a primitive form of alternating palmettes such as is seen in our first canon-table, as well as the same coarse guilloche as filling for colonnettes and arches and other details of ornament (such as the curious "kaleidoscopic" motif) which occur in our manuscript. The interest for us of the Gundohinus Gospel-book is far greater as regards its miniature on fol. 12^{v} (Fig. 18), where we see a Christ enthroned between two angels and the four symbolic beasts surrounding Him, disposed in medallions in the same manner as in our frontispiece.

The codex of Gundohinus dates, according to Zimmermann, in the middle of the eighth century. Its Christ and angels inclosed in a circular glory and surrounded by the symbolic beasts, is the theme again of a miniature in the Codex Amiatinus of the Laurentiana at Florence, a Northumbrian manuscript of the early eighth century. This miniature was undoubtedly copied by the English illuminator from the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus, of the sixth century, since the latter was the model for the text of the Codex Amiatinus. The type was therefore current in south Italy in the sixth century, and that it survived there into the tenth is shown by the appearance of the same composition of Christ in a circular glory with the busts of the beasts in circular medallions around it, in a manuscript of Monte Cassino executed at Capua in the first half of the ninth century. The artists of south Italy no doubt derived their type from East Christian renditions of the Vision of Ezekiel.

Such indications as our codex affords in its iconography and ornament point therefore to the valley of the lower Loire, or the ecclesiastical province of Tours which claimed sovereignty over Brittany, as the source of its compositions and ornament. The Turonian reminiscences of the script have been pointed out by Rand, and further connection with Tours is amply illustrated by the saints' days discussed in the chapter on the *comes*. Certainly the frontispiece is not of Insular origin, and the beast-headed figures of the Evangelists are not current in Celtic art, being Continental in their usage, and particularly characteristic of south France and Spain. The model or models that lay before our painters of Landevennec were, however, in spite of the late date of the codex, specimens of the earlier, decadent Latin, style of Tours and its vicinity, before the Carolingian renaissance had revolutionized Turonian art into the brilliant phase which it experienced in the first half of the ninth century. Such designs were reduced to primitive brevity by the Bretons of Landevennec, used by inheritance to a decorative style that had no power of

Irishman, who has mastered something of the manner of Tours" (Rand, p. 166). Rand inclines to date it c. 850; noteworthy in it are the beaks of the bird-head terminals of the initials, which show a design much resembling the *protomae* of our Evangelists.

representation, and in the process they lost both the sinuous line that vitalizes Celtic patterns, and the crude antique naturalism that lingers on in the Gallican art of the Gundohinus codex.

Landevennec adopted the Benedictine rule in 818, and without doubt at that time acquired the new service-books that accompanied such liturgical changes. At this time Carolingian illumination at Tours was in its infancy, and the books the monks of Landevennec would have received might well have been decorated in the pre-Carolingian fashion illustrated by the Gospel-book of Gundohinus. The existence of such a model for the prefatory material of the codex of Landevennec has been interestingly demonstrated by Kraeling. The making of the book started, as he and Professor Rand have pointed out, with the text of Matthew, and the basis of this at first, as Kraeling shows, was a Gospel-book with a text following the Alcuinian revision, in which in the light of what has been said before we may recognize a manuscript of the pre-Carolingian style of Tours. At fol. 39 the scribe shifted his source, and used as model for the rest of Matthew a native Celtic text. At the end of the Capitula of Mark, the scribe abandoned his Celtic text and returned to the Alcuinian archetype. Kraeling explains the shift from the Continental to the Insular text very convincingly as owing to the fact that by the time the transcription reached fol. 39, the addition of the prefatory material of the codex (Epistles, Prologue, Argumentum, and Capitula of Matthew, and canon-tables — obviously added after the transcription was begun) made necessary the employment as model for this portion the Alcuinian codex which the scribe had been using for his textual source, and thus forced the latter to have recourse to a text of his native Celtic tradition during the time his main source was being used for the new prefatory gatherings.

This explains the Continental, and in a general sense, Turonian character of the iconography and ornament that is found in the canon-tables and frontispiece that compose the second quaternion, one of the two that were added to the front of the manuscript while the second half of Matthew was being copied; the canon-tables and frontispiece, like the prefatory material of the first quaternion, were copied from the Alcuinian archetype. So also were the initials, since none of these fall within the portion of the text copied from the Celtic codex. So, too, were the beast-headed Evangelists; the missing Matthew must have been on the last of the missing leaves of the first quaternion, as Kraeling shows; we can probably reconstruct his appearance from the corresponding miniature of the Gospel-book of Berne (Fig. 9).

THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF LANDEVENNEC

THE COMES

C. R. Morey

The folios from 144 to the end of the manuscript are occupied by a *comes*, or list of readings from the Gospels in the order that they are needed in the liturgy throughout the year. The calendar begins with Christmas Eve as is usual in French sacramentaries of the period, since the present opening of the liturgical year with Advent did not become common either in France or Germany until the eleventh century. The readings follow the saints' days until the end of March, after which the Sunday and week-day lessons from Christmas to Septuagesima are listed. Then follow the lessons from Septuagesima through the second week after Easter, bringing the date to April, and the readings for saints' days recommence, continuing through May. The list then returns again to the Proper of Time, and, beginning with the second Sunday after Easter, gives the lessons for Sundays and week-days through the second week after Pentecost. The Proper of Saints is then resumed from June through St. Lucy's Day on December 13, with an interruption for the Ember days of September. The *comes* closes with the readings for the Sundays after Pentecost from the second to the twenty-fifth, when the Sundays in Advent begin, numbered recessively; the readings for these stop with the second Sunday before Christmas by reason of the loss of the final folio at this point. A transcription follows of the calendar as it appears in the *comes*, with the Eusebian sections (i. e. the divisions of the Gospel-text devised by Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century, numbered by Latin scribes as *capitula*, and indicated by the abbreviation *K*); the chapter and verse of the Gospel which corresponds to the Eusebian number is given in the columns to the right. In the first column the letters refer to other lists of readings cited for comparison, as follows: A, the *comes* of the Gospel-book of the early ninth century in the cathedral of Aachen, representing Carolingian usage at the court of Charlemagne himself; [1] H, the *comes* of the Gospel-book of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim of the early eleventh century; [2] M, the *comes* of manuscript 184 in the municipal library of Besançon, coming from the abbey of Murbach in Alsace and reflecting Gallican usage at the end of the eighth century; [3] R the Roman Catholic missal of today. The abbreviations in the text of the *comes* itself have been expanded, and it has been necessary, for lack of space, to omit the beginnings and terminations of the pericopes, which are recorded in the *comes*.

[1] Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches* (Freiburg i/B, 1907), pp. 127 ff.

[2] Beissel, *Des heiligen Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1891), pp. 51 ff.

[3] Godu, *ap.* Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, V, 1, cols. 320, 900, 908 ff.; Dom A. Wilmart, *Rev. bénédictine*, XXX (1913), 25 ff.

Since the *comes*, and the calendar it affords, constitute our earliest Breton example in this category, and a document of some importance in the history of the mediaeval missal, its pages have been reproduced in full in Plates XII–XXVII.

Incipit argumentum quomodo in eodem annali libro. exponendo nomen Evangeliste cuiuscumque sit vel tituli numerum. evangelia in corporibus praecedentium librorum sine ullo errore repperiantur. quae dominicis aut festis diebus vel etiam cotidianis secundum cuiusque diei vel ebdomade vel mensis vel temporis congruentiam in ecclesia per totum annum conveniant ad legendum:

			Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
1.	Dec. 24	*In vigilia nativitatis domini*	AHMR	3	i, 18		
2.	" 25	Nativity:					
		ad sanctam mariam maiorem in nocte	AHMR	1		ii, 1	
		Item ad sanctam anastasiam mane	AHMR	3		ii, 15	
		Item ad sanctum petrum in die	AHMR	1			i, 1
3.	" 26	St. Stephen	AHMR	240	xxiii,139		
4.	" 27	St. John Evangelist	AHMR	232			xxi, 19
5.	" 28	Holy Innocents	AHMR	6	ii, 19		
6.	" 31	St. Silvester	AH	263	xxiv, 42		
7.	Jan. 1	*in octavum domini ad sanctam mariam. ad martires*	AHMR[1]	3		ii, 15	
8.	" 5	Vigil of Epiphany	AHMR	6	ii, 19		
9.	" 6	Epiphany	AHMR	4	ii, 1		
10.	" 13	*in octavum teophaniae* (Octave of Epiphany)	H	13	iii, 13		
11.	" 14	St. Felix	AH	116		x, 16	
12.	" 16	St. Marcellus	AH	269[2]	xxv, 14		
13.	" 18	St. Prisca	AH	140	xiii, 44		
14.	" 20	St. Sebastian	AHMR	45		vi, 17	
15.	" 20	St. Fabian	AH	263	xxiv, 42		
16.	" 21	St. Agnes *de passione*	AHR	268	xxv, 1		
17.	" 22	St. Vincent	AHM	104			xii, 24
18.	" 25	St. Projectus (St. Prix)		182		xiv, 26	
19.	" 28	St. Agnes *de natali*	AH	140	xiii, 44		
20.	Feb. 1	St. Bridget		268	xxv, 1		
21.	" 2	*Purificatio sancte mariae virginis*	AHR	3		ii, 22	
22.	" 5	St. Agatha	AH	268	xxv, 1		
23.	" 14	St. Valentine	AH	97		ix, 23	
24.	" 22	*cathedra sancti petri*	MR	166[3]	xvi, 13		
25.	Mar. 3	St. Winwaloe		263	xxiv, 42		
26.	" 12	St. Gregory	AH	263	xxiv, 42		
27.	" 21	St. Benedict		263	xxiv, 42		
28.	" 25	Annunciation	AHMR	1		i, 26	
29.	*Dominica I post natale domini* (1st Sunday after Christmas)		HMR	3		ii, 33	
30.	*Dominica I post theophaniam* (1st Sunday after Epiphany)		AHMR	3		ii, 42	
31.	*Feria IIII post theophaniam* (Wednesday after Epiphany)		AH	13			i, 29
32.	*Feria VI* (Friday after Epiphany)		AH	17		iv, 14	
33.	*Feria VII* (Saturday after Epiphany)			74		vii, 36	

[1] But the lesson in these begins with v. 21.

[2] The text reads: CCLXVVIIII, the second V being an obvious error.

[3] Text: CCLXIII. A double error; the scribe has duplicated the C and read VI as III.

		Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
34. *Ebdomada II post teophaniam die dominica* (2nd Sunday after Epiphany)	AHMR	18				ii, 1
35. *Feria IIII* (Wednesday)	AH	18		i, 40		
36. *Feria VI* (Friday)	AH	50		vi, 1		
37. *Feria VII* (Saturday)	AH	26			iv, 38	
38. *Ebdomada III die dominica* (3d Sunday after Epiphany)	AHMR	63	viii, 1			
39. *Feria IIII*	AH	25		iii, 1		
40. *Feria VI*	AH	33			v, 12	
41. *Feria VII*	AH	36[1]		iv, 1		
42. *Ebdomada IIII post theophaniam die dominica* (4th Sunday after Epiphany)	AHMR	69	viii, 23			
43. *Feria IIII*	AH	74	ix, 18			
44. *Feria VI*	AH	41		iv, 24		
45. *Feria VII*	AH	178			xiv, 7	
46. *Ebdomada V post theophaniam die dominica* (5th Sunday after Epiphany)	AHR	136			xiii, 24	
47. *Feria IIII*	H	49		v, 21		
48. *Feria VI*	AH	47		v, 1		
49. *Feria VII*	AH	67			vii, 11	
50. *Ebdomada VI post theophaniam die dominica* (6th Sunday after Epiphany)	AH	67		vi, 47		
51. *Feria IIII.* No lesson						
52. *Feria VI*	AH	74			vii, 36	
53. *Feria VII*	AH	21		ii, 13		
54. *Ebdomada VII theophaniae die dominica* (7th Sunday after Epiphany)	AH	116	xii, 9			
55. *Feria IIII*	AH	63		vi, 34		
56. *Feria VI*	AH	147	xiv, 15			
57. *Ebdomada VIII post theophaniam die dominica* (8th Sunday after Epiphany)	AH	86			ix, 1	
58. *Feria IIII*	AH	154	xv, 1			
59. *Feria VI*	AH	83			viii, 22	
60. *Feria VII*	AH	72		vii, 24		
61. *Ebdomada VIIII post theophaniam* (9th Sunday after Epiphany)	AH	221	xxii, 1			
62. *Ebdomada X post theophaniam* (10th Sunday after Epiphany)	AH	156	xv, 21			

Incipiunt lectiones evangelii a LXX usque in pascha (readings from third Sunday before Lent to Easter)

63. *In Septugessima* (sic) *die dominica ad sanctum Laurentium*	AHMR	200	xx, 1			
64. *Feria IIII*		49		v, 21		
65. *Feria VI*		48[2]		v, 1		
66. *Feria VII*		67			vii, 11	
67. *In sexagesima die dominica ad sanctum paulum*	AHMR	76			viii, 4	
68. *Feria IIII*		63		vi, 34		
69. *Feria VI*		147	xiv, 15			
70. *Feria VII*		21		ii, 13		
71. *In quinquagessima* (sic) *die dominica ad sanctum petrum*	AHMR	222			xviii, 31	
72. *Feria IIII*	AHMR	45	vi, 16			
73. *Feria V*	AHMR	64	viii, 5			
74. *Feria VI*	AHMR	39	v, 43			
75. *Feria VII*	HMR	67		vi, 47		

[1] Text: XXVI, for XXXVI.

[2] Text: XLVI, for XLVIII.

		Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
76. *In quadragesima die dominica* (1st Sunday in Lent)	AHMR	15	iv, 1			
77. *Feria II*	AHMR	273	xxv, 31			
78. *Feria III*	AHMR[1]	210	xxi, 10			
79. *Feria IIII mensis primi* (Ember days)	AHMR	127	xii, 38			
80. *Feria V (VI)*[2]	AHMR	38				v, 1
quidam eodem die legunt. egressus ihs secesit in partes tiri et sidonis (Matt. xv, 21; this refers to Feria V)	AR	157	xv, 21			
81. *Feria VII. in XII lectionibus*	AHMR	172[3]	xvii, 1			
82. *Ebdomada II* (2nd Sunday in Lent)	HM	157	xv, 21			
83. *Feria II*	AHMR	89				viii, 21
84. *Feria III*	AHMR	227		xxiii, 1		
85. *Feria IIII*	AHMR	201	xx, 17			
86. *Feria V*	HM	41				v, 30
	AR	196			xvi, 19	
87. *Feria VI*	AHMR	219	xxi, 33			
88. *Feria VII*	AHMR	190			xv, 11	
89. *Ebdomada III* (3d Sunday in Lent)	AHMR	126[4]			xi, 14	
90. *Feria II*	AHMR	20			iv, 23	
91. *Feria III*	AHMR	183	xviii, 15			
92. *Feria IIII*	AHMR	154	xv, 1			
93. *Feria V*	AR	26			iv, 38	
94. *Feria VI*	AHMR	33				iv, 6
95. *Feria VII*	AHMR	86				viii, 1
96. *Ebdomada IIII* (4th Sunday in Lent)	AHMR	46				vi, 1
97. *Feria II*	AHMR	20				ii, 13
98. *Feria III*	AHMR	75				vii, 14
99. *Feria IIII*	AHMR	89				ix, 1
100. *Feria V*	AR	67			vii, 11	
	HM	39				v, 17
101. *Feria VI*	AHMR	94				xi, 1
102. *Feria VII*	AHMR	86				viii, 12
103. *Ebdomada V* (5th Sunday in Lent)	AHMR	89				viii, 46
104. *Feria II*	AHMR	79				vii, 32
105. *Feria III*	AHMR	75				vii, 1
106. *Feria IIII*	AHMR	92				x, 22
107. *Feria V*	AR	74			vii, 36	
108. *Feria VI*	AHMR	94				xi, 47
109. *Feria VII*	M	66				vi, 53
110. *Ebdomada VI. in palmis* (Palm Sunday) *Legitur pasio domini*	AHMR	274	xxvi, 1			
111. *Feria II*	AHMR	97				xii, 1
112. *Feria III*	H	118				xiii, 16
113. *Feria IIII Legitur pasio domini*	AHMR	260			xxii, 1	
114. *Feria V*	AHMR	112				xiii, 1
115. *Feria VI Legitur pasio domini*	AHMR	156				xviii, 1
116. *Feria VII quod est sabato sancto*	AHMR	352	xxviii, 1			

[1] But the lesson in these begins with v. 1.

[2] Text: LXXXVIIII. The lesson following the number is, however, John v, 1, which is the present reading for Feria VI, and is also found under that day in the *comes* of Aachen. The scribe made the mistake of copying, after his number LXXXVIIII, the lesson for the following day in the line below, which accounts for the omission of the lesson for Feria VI. In the *comes* which he was copying, the reading for Feria V was evidently 89 John viii.

[3] The number of the lesson is omitted. The Twelve Lessons, in the Carolingian liturgy, formed part of the long service of Saturday in the Ember weeks, continuing till Sunday morning. See Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches*, p. 130.

[4] Text: C.XX, for CXXVI.

			Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
117.	Easter Sunday	AHMR	230		xvi, 1		
118.	*Feria II*	AHMR[1]	339			xxiv, 13	
119.	*Feria III*	AHMR	340			xxiv, 36	
120.	*Feria IIII*	AHMR	219				xxi, 1
121.	*Feria V*	AHMR	211				xx, 11
122.	*Feria VI*	AHMR	355	xxviii, 16			
123.	*Feria VII*	A	213				xx, 19
124.	*Dominica Octavum Paschae* (1st Sunday after Easter)	A	242				xx, 24
125.	*In pascha annotina*[2]	AHM	24				iii, 1
126.	*Feria IIII*	A	153				xvii, 11
127.	*Feria VI*	A	37				iv, 46
128.	*Feria VII*	A	46				vi, 1
129.	April 14 Sts. Tiburtius and Valerian	AH	134[3]				xv, 12
130.	" 23 St. George	AH	251			xxi, 14	
131.	" 28 *Translatio beati uuinualoei confessoris* St. Vitalis	AHMR	228 132			xix, 12	xv, 1
132.	May 1 Sts. Philip and James	AHMR	127				xiv, 1
133.	" 3 Sts. Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus *Inventione sancte crucis*	A HMR	138[4] 24				xv, 17[5] iii, 1
134.	" 10 *Natalis sanctorum guardiani et ephimachi* (Gordianus and Epimachus)	AH	95	x, 34			
135.	" 12 Sts. Nereus and Achilleus St. Pancratius	AH AH	189[6] 138	xix, 3			xv, 17
136.	" 13 *Dedicatio basilice sancti uinnualoei confessoris dedicatio ecclesie sancte marie ad martyres legitur evangelium cuius occurrerit ebdomadae eo quod semper in die dominica celebratur ipsa solempnitas*	A					
137.	" 25 St. Urban	A	263	xxiv, 42			
138.	*Dominica I post octabum paschae* (2nd Sunday after Easter)	AHMR	89				x, 11
139.	*Feria IIII*	M	336			xxiv, 1	
140.	*Feria VI*	AH[7]	111				xii, 44
141.	*Ebdomada II* (3d Sunday after Easter)	AHMR	149				xvi, 16
142.	*Feria IIII*	M	27				iii, 25
143.	*Feria VI*	M	112				xii, 46
144.	*Ebdomada III* (4th Sunday after Easter)	AHMR	147				xvi, 5
145.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
146.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
147.	*Ebdomada IIII* (5th Sunday after Easter)	AHMR	150				xvi, 23

[1] As a matter of fact A and H take the reading from the beginning of the chapter, instead of beginning with v. 13.

[2] *Pascha annotinum* was a service for renewal of vows by those who had been baptized at Easter of the preceding year. Beissel (*Entstehung der Perikopen*, p. 136, n. 1) states that the rubric disappears from the lesson lists toward the end of the tenth century. The observance is, however, attested for the eleventh century in England, since the rubric in the Leofric Missal is by the later hand of that date (F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883, p. lxiii). French sacramentaries show it frequently in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it lingers on in this category into the fifteenth.

[3] Text: CCC.XXXIIII, for CXXXIIII.

[4] Text: CCXXXVIII, for CXXXVIII.

[5] In the end of the lesson: (*sed habeat vitam aeternam*) *quia oderunt me gratis.* The words here parenthesized are underlined in the text for cancellation.

[6] Text: *K. XCV. dixit his discipulis. nolite arbitrari* (Matt. x, 34, repeated by mistake from the preceding lesson). This is underlined for cancellation, and the number corrected to CLXXXVIIII.

[7] AH have this lesson for Feria IV.

				Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
148.			*In letania maiore. ii. et iii feriis*	AHMR	124		xi, 5	
149.			*Feria IIII In vigilia ascentionis domini*	AHMR	153			xvii, 1
150.			*Feria V* Ascension	AHMR	234	xvi, 14		
151.			*Feria VI*		25			iii, 22
152.			*Ebdomada post ascentionem domini*	AHMR	145			xv, 26
153.			*Feria IIII*	AHM[1]	133			xv, 7
154.			*Sabato in vigilia pentecosten*	AHMR	128			xiv, 16[2]
155.			Pentecost Sunday	AHMR	130			xiv, 23
156.			*Feria II*	AHMR	24			iii, 16
157.			*Feria III*	AHMR	89			x, 1
158.			*Feria IIII*	AHMR	60			vi, 44
159.			*Feria V*	HMR	86		ix, 1	
160.			*Feria VI*	AHMR	36		v, 17	
161.			*Feria VII id est sabati in XII lectiones*	A	205	xx, 29		
162.			*Dominica octava pentecosten* (1st Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	24			iii, 1
163.			*Feria IIII*	AH	94		ix, 12	
164.			*Feria VI*	A	186		xv, 1	
165.			*Sabbato*	A	35[3]		viii, 41	
166.	June	1	*Natalis sancti nicomedis*		96		ix, 23	
167.	"	2	Sts. Marcellinus and Petrus	AHMR	249		xxi, 9	
168.	"	9	Sts. Primus and Felicianus	AH	134			xv, 12
169.	"	12	St. Basilides	A	24			iii, 1
170.	"	18	Sts. Marcus and Marcellianus	AH	134			xv, 12
171.	"	19	*Natalis sanctorum gervassi* (sic)	AH	137	xiii, 1		
172.	"	23	*Vigilia sancti iohannis baptiste*	AHMR	1		i, 5	
173.	"	24	St. John Baptist	AHMR	1		i, 57	
174.	"	26	Sts. John and Paul		226			xxi, 15
175.	"	29	*Natalis sancti Petri*	AHMR	166	xvi, 13		
176.	"	30	*Natalis sancti Pauli*	AHMR	196	xix, 27		
177.	July	2	Sts. Processus and Martinianus	AHM	243	xxiv, 3		
178.	"	6	*Octavum apostolorum* (Octave of Sts. Peter and Paul)	AHMR	148	xiv, 22		
179.	"	10	The Seven Sons of St. Felicitas	AH	24	v, 1		
				A	133		xi, 33	
			Item ad sanctam felicitatem	AHMR	130	xii, 46		
180.	"	11	Translation of St. Benedict		263	xxiv, 42		
181.	"	21	*Natalis sancte paraxidis* (sic) *virginis*	AMR	140	xiii, 44		
182.	"	23	St. Apollinaris	AHMR	270		xxii, 24	
183.	"	28	*Natalis sancti Samsonis episcopi*		269	xxv, 14		
184.	"	29	Sts. Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrix	AHM[4]	154		xii, 35	
185.	"	30	Sts. Abdon and Sennen	AH	134			xv, 12
186.	Aug.	1	The Macchabees		148	xiv, 22		
187.	"	2	St. Stephen Pope	AHM	228		xix, 12	
188.	"	6	Sts. Sixtus, Felicissimus and Agapitus	AH	86	x, 16		
189.	"	8	St. Cyriacus	AH	92	x, 26		
190.	"	9	Vigil of St. Lawrence	AHMR	170	xvi, 24		

[1] But M has this lesson for Feria VI.

[2] The lesson is given as *si quis diligit me sermonem meum. usque sicut mandata* (corrected from *mandatum*) *dedit mihi pater sic faciam* (John xiv, 23–31). The last five words are underlined for cancellation and written above them is (supply *mandata* from cancelled reading) *mea servate usque et manifestabo me ipsum* (John xiv, 16–22). The lesson intended was xiv, 16; its opening words, *si diligitis me, mandata mea servate*, were confused with those of the lesson for Pentecost the following day: *si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit*, which led to the substitution of the latter.

[3] Text: LXXXVI, for LXXXV.

[4] M has this lesson for St. Felix only; for the other saints the lesson is Matt. v, 1.

				Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
191.	Aug. 10	St. Lawrence — *ad primam misam*	AH	96	x, 37			
		Item eodem die ad misam pupplicam	AHMR	104				xii, 24
192.	" 11	St. Tiburtius	AH	134				xv, 12
193.	" 13	St. Hippolytus	AHM	144			xii, 1	
194.	" 14	St. Eusebius	AHM	263	xxiv, 42			
195.	" 15	Assumption of Virgin	AHMR	122			x, 38	
			A	131			xi, 27	
196.	" 17	*octavum sancti Laurentii*		170	xvi, 24			
197.	" 18	St. Agapitus	AH	154			xii, 35	
198.	" 22	St. Timotheus	AH	182[1]			xiv, 26	
199.	" 25	St. Bartholomew		139		xiii, 5		
200.	" 28	St. Hermes	AH	45[2]			vi, 17	
201.	" 29	St. Sabina	AR	140	xiii, 44			
		Decollatio sancti iohannis baptiste	AHMR	59		vi, 17		
202.	Sept. 8	Nativity of the Virgin	A	1			i, 39	
			HMR	1	i, 1			
203.	" 11	Sts. Protus and Hyacinthus	AH	89	x, 23			
204.	" 14	*Natale sanctorum cornelii et cyprani* (sic)	AHM	140			xi, 47	
		Exaltatio Crucis	AH	24				iii, 1
205.	" 15	St. Nicomedes	HM	96			ix, 23	
206.	" 16	St. Euphemia	AHM	140	xiii, 44			
207.	*Feria IIII mensis septimi* (Ember day)		AHM	91		ix, 17		
208.	*Feria VI*		AH	36			v, 17	
209.	*Sabato in XII lectionibus*		AHM	164			xiii, 6	
210.	Sept. 20	Vigil of St. Matthew	HRM[3]	71[4]	ix, 9			
211.	" 21	St. Matthew	R	38			v, 27	
212.	" 22	Sts. Maurice and Candidus		154			xii, 35	
213.	" 27	Sts. Cosmas and Damian	AH	138				xv, 17
214.	" 29	*Dedicatio ecclesie sancti michaelis*	AHMR	178[5]	xviii, 1			
215.	Oct. 7[6]	St. Mark Pope	AH	269	xxv, 14			
216.	" 14	St. Callixtus	AH[7]	263	xxiv, 42			
217.	" 18	St. Luke		228			xix, 12	
218.	" 27	Vigil of Sts. Simon and Jude	HMR	132				xv, 1
219.	" 28	Sts. Simon and Jude	HMR	138				xv, 17
220.	" 31	Vigil of All Saints		251			xxi, 14	
221.	Nov. 1	*Festivitas omnium sanctorum*	HR	24	v, 1			
222.	" 1	St. Caesarius	AM	104				xii, 24
223.	" 8	Quattuor Coronati	A	45			vi, 17	
224.	" 9	St. Theodore	A	251			xxi, 14	
225.	" 11	St. Menas	A	96			ix, 23	
		St. Martin		154			xii, 35	
226.	" 22	St. Cecilia	AHMR	268[8]	xxv, 1			
227.	" 23	St. Clement	AH	269	xxv, 14			
		St. Felicitas	A	130	xii, 46			
				122			x, 38	
228.	" 24	St. Chrysogonus	A	138				xv, 17

[1] Text: LXXXII, for CLXXXII.

[2] Text: K.XL.K.XLV.

[3] H uses this lesson for St. Matthew's day, having no vigil. The readings in our *comes* are inverted as regards the Roman missal, which reads the Matthew lesson on St. Matthew's day as does H, and that from Luke on the vigil.

[4] Text: CLX(X erased)XI, for LXXI.

[5] Text: CLXXXVIII.

[6] Text: MONO$\overline{\text{CT}}$.

[7] The notation of the reading in H is given as in Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, p. 187, since the indication in his *Des heiligen Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim* (1891) seems to be in error.

[8] Text: CCLXVIIII, for CCLXVIII.

			Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
229.	Nov. 29[1] St. Saturninus	A	138[2]		xiii, 5		
	Vigil of St. Andrew	AHMR	16				i, 35
230.	" 30 St. Andrew	AHMR	20	iv, 18			
231.	Dec. 13 St. Lucy	AHR	140	xiii, 44			
232.	*Ebdomada I post octabum pentecostes* (2nd Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	193[3]			xvi, 19	
233.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
234.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
235.	*Ebdomada II post octavum pentecostes* (3d Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	181[4]			xiv, 16	
236.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
237.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
238.	*Ebdomada III post octavum pentecostes* (4th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	186[5]			xv, 1	
	(The lessons for Sundays 4–15 inclusive after Pentecost have been lost with the folio missing at this point.)						
239.	*Ebdomada XV post octavum pentecostes* (16th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	48	vi, 24[6]			
240.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
241.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
242.	*Ebdomada XVI post octavum pentecostes* (17th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	67			vii, 11	
243.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
244.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
245.	*Ebdomada XVII post octavum pentecostes* (18th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	176			xiv, 1	
246.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
247.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
248.	*Ebdomada XVIII post octavum pentecostes* (19th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	224	xxii, 23			
249.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
250.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
251.	*Ebdomada XVIIII post octavum pentecostes* (20th Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	70	ix, 1[7]			
252.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
253.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
254.	*Ebdomada XX post octavum pentecostes* (21st Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	221	xxii, 1			
255.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
256.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
257.	*Ebdomada XXI post octavum penetecostes* (22nd Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	37				iv, 46
258.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson						
259.	*Feria VI.* No lesson						
260.	*Ebdomada XXII post octavum pentecostes* (23d Sunday after Pentecost)	HM	188	xviii, 23			

[1] Text: II.KL for III.KL.

[2] Text omits the number.

[3] Text: CXCVI. The scribe has mistaken III for VI.

[4] Text omits the number. In the Roman missal, this is the lesson for the second Sunday after Pentecost.

[5] This reading is the lesson in the Roman missal for the third Sunday after Pentecost.

[6] This and the two following lessons correspond to those of the Roman missal for the 14th, 15th, and 16th Sundays after Pentcost.

[7] This and the five following lessons correspond to those of the Roman missal for the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d Sundays after Pentecost.

		Cap.	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
261.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
262.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
263.	*Ebdomada XXIII post octavum pentecostes* (24th Sunday after Pentecost) HM	223	xxii, 15			
264.	*Faeria IIII.* No lesson					
265.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
266.	*Ebdomada XXIIII post octavum pentecostes* (25th Sunday after Pentecost) HM	74	ix, 18			
267.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
268.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
269.	*Ebdomada V ante natalem domini* (1st Sunday in Advent) HM	49				vi, 5
270.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
271.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
272.	*Ebdomada IIII ante natalem domini* (2nd Sunday in Advent) AHM	206	xxi, 1			
273.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
274.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
275.	*Ebdomada III ante natalem domini* (3d Sunday in Advent) AHM	257			xxi, 25	
276.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
277.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					
278.	*Ebdomada II ante natalem domini* (4th Sunday in Advent) AHM	102	xi, 2			
279.	*Feria IIII.* No lesson					
280.	*Feria VI.* No lesson					

(The folio following, on which must have been entered the lesson for the 5th Sunday in Advent, is lost.)

The saints' days commemorated in this *comes* constitute in the main the list of the Gregorian Sacramentary, or the mass-book in use in Rome at the end of the eighth century, which was introduced into Gaul by order of Charlemagne, to replace the older use based on the sacramentary of Pope Gelasius of the end of the fifth century, which had up to that time, with much and diverse change according to locality, prevailed in the monasteries and churches beyond the Alps. The new ritual was much modified by infiltrations from the older Gelasian use, however, and soon took on a Gallican character that distinguishes it from Roman usage, though the pre-Carolingian local diversity was lost, and it is only through the introduction of local saints into the calendars, or the use of peculiar local signs (neums) for the notes of the plain-song, or other occasional indications of the sort, that Gospel-manuscripts may be localized after the Carolingian reform.

If we add the saints of the Gelasian calendar to those of the Gregorian, we shall find that the saints' days of our calendar missing in one or the other are few. They are the following:

Feb. 1.	St. Bridget
Mar. 3.	St. Winwaloe
Mar. 21.	St. Benedict
April 28.	Translation of St. Winwaloe
May 13.	Dedication of the church of St. Winwaloe
July 20.	St. Praxedis
July 23.	St. Apollinaris of Ravenna
July 28.	St. Samson
Aug. 25.	St. Bartholomew
Sept. 22.	Sts. Maurice and Candidus
Oct. 31.	Halloween
Nov. 1.	All Saints

It is evident from the appearance in this list of three commemorations of St. Winwaloe, that the *comes* was written for use in a church or monastery that was consecrated under his name. To be noted also is the introduction of the *natalis* of St. Benedict on March 21, in addition to the commemoration (July 11) of the translation of his body from Monte Cassino to Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire) which had been inserted in the old Gelasian calendar by Gallican usage after that event (c. 660). It is hardly necessary to add that in Italy, where the monks of Monte Cassino denied the loss of their founder's remains, the *translatio Benedicti* was not celebrated, and it does not appear in the modern Roman missal. Halloween and All Saints are festivals that owe their origin ultimately to the turning of the Pantheon at Rome into a Christian church by Boniface IV (608–615). Ado, who wrote in the second half of the ninth century the martyrology which is the ancestor of the one in present

use by the Roman church, tells us that the feast of All Saints was introduced into France by Louis the Pious at the instigation of Gregory IV, whence comes the generally accepted date of 825 as the year in which it was established in the Gallican calendar.[1] Quentin points out that no mention is made of the institution of the festival in the letters of Gregory IV, the capitularies of Louis the Pious, or the councils or chronicles of the time, and adds that the feast is absent from the Sacramentary of Rodradus of Corbie [2] (853), and from other lists of the second half of the ninth century, which would show that the festival was not universally celebrated in France long after the death of Louis the Pious. It is true also that in the earliest copy known of the Gregorian Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian, the Sacramentary of Cambrai of the early ninth century, the vigil and "solemnitas" of All Saints are additions by a hand of the end of the ninth, or of the tenth century. The same is true of the Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz of the middle of the ninth century, where the entry is due to a later hand, and of the Sacramentary of Senlis of c. 880. But the Sacramentary of St. Denis (middle ninth), of St. Thierry (written for Notre-Dame of Noyon; second half of ninth), of Corbie (second half of ninth), of Nonantola (written for St. Denis; second half of ninth), of Cambrai (Bibl. Municipale, 162, 163; second half of ninth), of Amiens (second half of ninth), and of St. Amand (end of ninth), all include the feast in the original text. At Tours it was established by the middle of the ninth century, since it appears in the Sacramentary of Autun which reflects the usage of Marmoutier, and in the other Tours sacramentaries of later date in the ninth century.[3] The appearance of the feast in our *comes* is thus of value as a *terminus post quem*, indicating a date not earlier than the middle of the ninth century; the suggestion of a usage related to Tours will be confirmed by further evidence from our saints' days.

In the sacramentaries listed by Leroquais in the libraries of France, St. Bridget (Feb. 1) does not appear before the ninth century, in which century she is mentioned in sacramentaries reflecting the use of St. Bertin at St. Omer, and in those of Reichenau, and Winchester.[4] She is absent as well from the German *comes* in all the manuscripts thereof (from the ninth to the eleventh century), consulted by Beissel in his *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches*.[5] Her appearance in our *comes* may therefore be considered as a sign of Insular and specifically Celtic influence, since Bridget was second only to St. Patrick in the veneration of the Irish church, and after Mary the chief

[1] H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques* (Paris, 1908), pp. 636 ff.

[2] An error; the vigil and *natalis* appear in fol. 208^{v}; cf. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924), I, 27.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 15, 16, 20, 24, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 42, 46, 50, 55, 57.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 114, 190.

[5] Freiburg, i/B, 1907, pp. 176 ff.

of the virgin saints.[1] This being the case it is natural that her cult should have passed into Brittany, and there in fact we find her as the patroness of numerous parishes; Berhet, Loperhet, Perguet, and Sainte-Brigitte (all of which have taken the saint's name), Kermoroch and Noyalo; not to speak of numerous chapels elsewhere.[2]

St. Bartholomew is commemorated in our calendar on Aug. 25. It may be that we should assume here a mistake of the scribe, who might easily have written VIII KL instead of VIIII KL, and that the date intended was Aug. 24, the Gallican date to this day. On the other hand the *natalis* is celebrated in the present Roman use on Aug. 25, as in our calendar. The Gelasian Sacramentary placed the feast on the 24th. Baronius assigned the change to the translation of the remains of the saint from Beneventum to the island of the Tiber in Rome in 983, on the assumption that Aug. 25 was the date of the translation. This is supported at least by the entry for Aug. 25 in the Anglo-Saxon calendar of the Leofric Missal, *Bartholomei translatio*, in a hand assigned by Warren, with other additions of the sort, to the "tenth and eleventh centuries." [3] But the feast also occurs on Aug. 25 in the metrical martyrology of d'Achery assigned by Quentin to York or Ripon, and to the middle of the eighth century.[4] There is consequently a possibility that Insular usage, as in the commemoration of St. Bridget, may be here reflected in our calendar.

A more probable explanation is, however, offered by the slovenly habit of our scribe, whose numerous mistakes in copying are noted in the notes to the *comes*. The reading Mark xiii, 5, given for St. Bartholomew, is to be found in no other *comes* available for comparison, since the lesson for his day varies in the Middle Ages from Matthew xiii, 23 to Luke xxii, 24, and in the present Roman missal is Luke vi, 12. The reading Mark xiii, 5 is, however, given for St. Genesius by the *comes* of Aachen and in several other manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Now since St. Genesius' day is the 25th of Aug., it is quite possible that our scribe copied the reading and the date for St. Bartholomew from the entry for the following day in the manuscript which served him as model. Other cases of the sort which will be noted later, make this possibility approach a certainty. We should then correct the date to Aug. 24, which would accord with universal Gallican usage of the time of our manuscript. We must also include in our calendar, as present in its arche-

[1] The Stowe Missal of the early ninth century cites Bridget at the head of the virgins invoked in the canon of the Mass; cf. G. F. Warner, *The Stowe Missal* (London, 1915), pp. xxv, 14; F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 238. She appears in the Anglo-Saxon calendar of the Leofric Missal, which (the calendar) is dated by Warren in the end of the tenth century and assigned to Glastonbury (F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883, pp. xliii ff.).

[2] J. Gaultier du Mottay, *Essai d'iconographie et d'hagiographie bretonne*, Saint-Brieuc, 1869.

[3] F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, p. l.

[4] Quentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

type and intended to be copied by our scribe, the name of St. Genesius for Aug. 25, with the lesson Mark xiii, 5.

Another Celtic saint, more specifically Breton, is St. Samson (July 28). Samson was bishop of Dol in Brittany in the sixth century, and thus the patron of the see which Nominoe, lord of all Brittany in the middle of the ninth century, endeavoured to make the metropolitan of the Breton church, as against Tours, which claimed an archiepiscopal sovereignty over Brittany. Nominoe's effort was part of the long insistence of the Breton church on its independence and upon the retention of its traditional usages: the Celtic calculation of Easter, the peculiar tonsure, its monastic rather than episcopal organization, and so forth. This attitude sporadically was maintained, in spite of denunciations from Gallican councils, until the final acceptance by Dol of the rank of a suffragan see in the twelfth century. The claim of Tours was fortified by an alleged consecration of St. Corentin, first bishop of Quimper, by St. Martin, and was recognized by the sees of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes in the eastern and Gallic portion of the province.[1] It is not surprising therefore to find that St. Samson is especially honoured in the fragments of a Turonian sacramentary of the end of the ninth century,[2] and that of the eleven citations of the saint to be found in Leroquais' corpus in sacramentaries of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, three come from Breton abbeys, two from Angers, and the earliest from Tours itself, which certifies the appearance of St. Samson in our calendar as quite in accordance with local usage in the ecclesiastical province of Tours.[3] Roman usage was slow in accepting the saint, possibly because of the dubious loyalty of the see which he symbolized, and it was only with Usuard and the end of the ninth century [4] that his name is included in the martyrology; he is absent from the lists of Bede, Florus, and Ado, but is added by a ninth-century manuscript of Reims to a metrical martyrology composed according to Quentin in the eighth century for the use of York or Ripon.[5] The appearance of the saint in our calendar is thus an indication of local usage in the metropolitan province of Tours and specifically in Brittany. His popularity in the Celtic church may be held responsible for the appearance of his name, along with that of St. Bridget, in the Anglo-Saxon calendar of the end of the tenth century (assigned to Glastonbury by Warren), which forms part of the Leofric Missal.

Three other saints' days of our calendar are not included in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. These are the feasts of Praxedis, Apollinaris,

[1] Baring-Gould, *A Book of Brittany* (London, 1901), p. 98. [2] Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 56.

[3] Sacramentaries of Tours, St. Aubin d'Angers, St. Vaast d' Arras, Angers, an unknown Breton abbey, St. Méen in Brittany, St. Wandrille, Amiens, St. Evroult, Breventec (priory of St. Mathieu in Finistère), Maillezais in Poitou. Leroquais, *op, cit.*, I, 52, 73, 80, 89, 109, 110, 112, 136, 166, 177, 181, 185.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, VI, 569.

[5] The martyrology of d'Achery, cited above with reference to St. Bartholomew; Quentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

and of Maurice and Candidus, of July 21, July 23, and Sept. 22 respectively. The commemoration of the first two is old enough: Praxedis was honoured in Rome at least as early as the sixth century [1] and was included in the second redaction of the martyrology of Bede which according to Quentin originated c. 800.[2] St. Apollinaris of Ravenna is listed in the *martyrologium Hieronymianum*, and in the martyrology of Bede. Both appear in the *comes* of the Ada-Gospels of the early ninth century,[3] and in that of the evangeliary used in Charlemagne's Chapel at Aachen in the same period.[4] St. Maurice was of slower adoption in the sacramentary and *comes*. He is absent from the calendar of the Aachen *comes*, and according to Beissel the saint and his companions put in an appearance in the German lectionaries in the eleventh century.[5] In the martyrologies the feast is found first in the Gallican revision of the *Hieronymianum* represented by the *Epternacensis* of the early eighth century,[6] and passed thence into the revision of Bede's martyrology which occurred c. 800. It is noteworthy that the placing of Candidus', instead of Exuperius', name next to that of Maurice, is observed in these earliest appearances of the commemoration, and is retained in our calendar.

St. Maurice *cum sociis* is commemorated from the second half of the ninth century in the French sacramentaries, and Apollinaris and Praxedis likewise. They are not especially characteristic of Brittany or of the province of Tours, save for the particular honour paid to Maurice at Angers, whose cathedral bore his name at least as early as the eighth century.[7] But it is to be noted that all three are included in the lists of the sacramentaries of Tours at the end of the ninth century, and in those of English and Breton abbeys from the end of the tenth.[8]

As stated above, the patron saint of the foundation where the manuscript was produced was evidently St. Winwaloe, in view of three commemorations of him that appear in the calendar. In our manuscript his name is spelled *Win(n)ualoeus*. The present French designation for the saint is *Guenolé*; between these the range of variation is extensive — Wingaloeus, Winwolaus, Walory, Guingaloeus, Gwinualoer, Guingaloe, Guingaloi, Gunwallow; ac-

[1] Her feast appeared in the second redaction of the *martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Cf. Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Fest-Kalender im Altertum* (Münster in Westf., 1924), pp. 164 and 218 ff.

[2] Quentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 684.

[3] *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 24.

[4] Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches*, p. 184. Cf., on the feasts of Apollinaris and Praxedis, Wilmart, *Rev. bénédictine*, XXX (1913), p. 66, n. 8. Both saints appear in the lectionary of Würzburg (reflecting Roman usage of the seventh century) and in the *comes* of Murbach (Gallican, VIII).

[5] Beissel, *Entstehung etc.*, pp. 131, 176, 186.

[6] Quentin, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[7] J. Denais, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers* (Paris, 1899), p. 2.

[8] All three are commemorated in the Anglo-Saxon (Glastonbury) calendar of the end of the tenth century; Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, p. xlvi. For other English and Breton examples, cf. Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 91, 106, 109, 112, 113.

cording to Baring-Gould the parish-church of Portlemouth, in Devon, is dedicated to the saint under the name of St. Onolaus.[1] His life was written in the latter part of the ninth century by a monk Wurdestinus (Wrdisten), of the monastery of Landevennec in Brittany, which Winwaloe founded. Various compendia of this life exist; the complete text has been published by C. de Smedt [2] and analyzed for its historicity by A. de la Borderie.[3]

The life of St. Winwaloe is a chapter from the Celtic settlement of Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the Saxon invasions were driving the Britons across the Channel as well as into Wales and Cornwall. One such refugee was Fragan (Brychan), from Gwent (Monmouthshire) in Wales, who with his wife Gwen (later celebrated in Breton hagiography as the "three-breasted") arrived in the bay of St. Brieuc about 460 and settled near the river Gouet. There he founded his *plou* or commune, which survives to this day in the village of Ploufragan. A son was born to Fragan after his migration, and named Winwaloe; to him seems to have fallen the function of the tribal "saint." Celtic "saints" were commonly little more than "religieux," the term referring to one who had adopted the monastic life. The usual history of a Celtic monastery begins with a grant of land to one of the sons or relatives of a tribal chieftain (sometimes in order to avoid troublesome questions of succession) who constituted therein his "lann" or sacred precinct, subject to the tribal authority of the chief in matters political, but otherwise governed by the abbot-"saint" as an *imperium in imperio*. The monastic organization of the Celtic church was one of the results of this procedure; Celtic bishops in the early days of the church were only appointees and suffragans of abbots.

Winwaloe was trained for the religious life by St. Budoc, in his monastery on the isle of Laurée. Here the legend places his first miracles, among them the spiritual visit paid him (in a vision) by St. Patrick of Ireland. Impressed by this vision, Budoc gave him eleven of his monks and sent him forth to found a monastery which he finally established on the coast of the roads of Brest. This monastery bore thenceforth the name Landevennec, explained by M. Loth as actually equivalent to "monastery of Wenn," the latter name being the abbreviated form of Winwaloe.[4] Here the saint performed more prodigies, and died at last in the arms of his monks before the altar where he had just finished the celebration of the mass. His death occurred most probably in 532.[5]

Winwaloe attained a wide veneration in the early Middle Ages, chiefly in Brittany of course, but also in Cornwall and Devon, in the vicinity of Tours,

[1] *Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh, 1914), Appendix, p. 191.
[2] *Analecta Bollandiana*, VII (1888), 167 ff.
[3] *Le cartulaire de Landevenec, Annales de Bretagne*, IV (1888), 295 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII (1892), 488 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV (1888), 350.

and in northern France. In Brittany he is invoked by the fishermen's wives for the safety of their husbands, and is patron of Batz, Concarneau, Crosic, Landevennec, Ile-de-Sein, Locguenolé, and Pierric, besides having the honour of a chapel in many other churches.[1] Landevennec is in the diocese of Quimper, which celebrates his anniversary on Apr. 28, the day of his translation in our calendar; his name is attached also to a church and parish of this diocese. At Penmarch it is still attached to the ruins of a church. A priory of Marmoutier, at Château-du-Loir, was dedicated to St. Guingaloé, showing that his cult had penetrated to Tours.[2] His name is included in a litany in a sacramentary of St. Aubin d'Angers of the tenth century, and in a missal of Foicy, a priory dependent on Fontevrault, of the twelfth.[3] A martyrology of the Vatican library, composed according to Quentin c. 1000 in Maine,[4] honours the saint on Apr. 28, showing the spread of his veneration into the province adjacent on the east to Brittany. The martyrology of St. Riquier in Picardy also commemorates his translation on Apr. 28, and the *natalis* of Mar. 30 as well.[5] The raids of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries, during one of which early in the tenth century the monastery of Landevennec was destroyed,[6] are said in various sources to have caused the dispersion of his relics for safe-keeping. Relics of Winwaloe are claimed for the monastery of Blandinberg near Ghent, where the *translatio* appears under date of Aug. 1.[7] At Montreuil-sur-mer in Picardy, the presence of the body of St. Winwaloe is asserted by a document of A.D. 1000 and another of 879, together with a *recognitio* of the relics in 1495.[8] A church is dedicated to him at Montreuil under the name of St. Waloy, and here also he is commemorated with three feasts, on Mar. 30, Apr. 28, and the third Sunday in July.[9] In Cornwall his cult was as intensive as in Brittany itself, particularly in the early times when Brittany and Celtic England were culturally one. Another Landevennec, in the modern form of Landevednack, is to be found in Cornwall, a parish in the diocese of Exeter. Towednack, another Cornish parish, derives its name from Winwaloe, according to Loth,[10] and both these parishes acknowledged him as their patron. Another parish bears the name Gunwallow, an obvious parallel to the French Guenolé. Baring-Gould is authority for the further information that Winwaloe was the patron of Tremaine, Tresmere, and of a chapel at Cradock in St. Cleer; according to the same writer his feast at Gunwallow is on the last Sunday in April, and further dedication to him may be found in the parish church at Portlemouth as mentioned above, where

[1] J. Gaultier du Mottay, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[2] *Petits Bollandistes*, III, 137.
[3] Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 72, 294.
[4] Lat. 4885. (Quentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.): *IIII KL. Mai . . . Cornubiae natale sancti Guingaloei confessoris.*
[5] *Acta Sanctorum*, March, I, 245.
[6] J. Loth, *Annales de Bretagne*, VIII (1892–93), 492.
[7] *Acta Sanctorum*, March, I, 246.
[8] *Ibid.*, 247.
[9] *Ibid.*, 248.
[10] *Annales de Bretagne*, VIII (1892–93), 491.

he has been metamorphosed into St. Onolaus.[1] The *Monasticon Anglicanum* records a relic of the saint (a bone) at Glastonbury, presumably the *reliquiae Winuualoi confessoris* listed in the catalogue of relics which forms one of the later portions (eleventh century) of the Leofric Missal.[2]

Such a multiplicity of centres of Winwaloe's cult is at first bewildering, but it will be noted that nowhere among them all, even at Montreuil-sur-mer where also three feasts of Winwaloe are celebrated, does the significant anniversary appear of the *dedicatio basilicae* of May 13, a festival of unmistakable reference to the abbey's founder. One of the three *Lives* of the saint printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists [3] tells us of this basilica: *sepultusque est in ecclesia lignea, quam ipse laudabili opere jusserat fabricari. Cuius nunc ossa cum magno honore deportata, in maiori ecclesia continentur.* This *maior ecclesia* is now in ruins; at the beginning of the last century Winwaloe's tomb was still to be seen in it. The translation celebrated in our calendar, at Quimper, Montreuil, and in the martyrology of St. Riquier, on Apr. 28, refers to the moving of the body of Winwaloe from the old wooden church into the new one.

The feast of May 13 is therefore a local celebration of Winwaloe's foundation at Landevennec; it is to be noted that at Montreuil-sur-mer, the only other place that might claim to be the source of our manuscript, no festival of the kind or of this date is found. We have then a manuscript written and illuminated at the abbey of Landevennec in Lower Brittany. The *terminus a quo* afforded by the vigil and feast of All Saints (see p. 271) was the middle of the ninth century, and the script will hardly, from Rand's observations, allow a dating later than 900. We may date the manuscript then in the second half of the ninth century, which explains the two Benedictine entries of the translation of St. Benedict on July 11, and his *natalis* on Mar. 21. For in 818 the emperor Louis the Pious directed a letter *omnibus Episcopis et universo ordini Ecclesiastico Britanniae consistenti*, in which he mentions an interview that he had had with *Macmonicus*, abbot of Landevennec, and orders that thereafter this monastery should reform its rule in accordance with that of St. Benedict, and change its mode of tonsure to the Roman mode, which command, according to Wurdestinus in his life of Winwaloe, was duly observed by the monks of Landevennec, where in 818 *coepta est servari in eodem monasterio Regula S. Benedicti.*[4]

As for the rest of the *comes*, it will be obvious to the reader who peruses the parallel lists whose agreement is indicated in the first column at the right in the transcript, that the calendar in general agrees well with A, i. e., with the *comes* of the Aachen Gospel-book; in other words it is the reformed Carolin-

[1] Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, Appendix, p. 190.
[2] Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, pp. lxxii and 5.
[3] March, I, 354.
[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, March, I, 258, 259.

gian calendar. The following discussion will have to do with its variations from the Carolingian calendar, beyond those already discussed. The most conspicuous variation is the continuous series of Sundays (25) after Pentecost, which in the Aachen *comes* is broken up into two Sundays after Pentecost, six after the feast of Peter and Paul, five after St. Lawrence, and seven after St. Cyprian. Our *comes* here follows the present Roman missal in respect to an uninterrupted series of Sundays, but its lessons are differently distributed, coinciding with those of the *comes* of Murbach, with which it also agrees in the number of Sundays. The Hildesheim Gospel of Bernward follows the same system and gives the same readings. Since many liturgical books dating after A.D. 1000 follow this system, Beissel [1] inclined to see in the continuous series of Sundays an indication of Ottonian or later date. The fact, however, that the system appears in the Murbach *comes* of the end of the eighth century shows that it is an early Gallican usage. The system is general in French sacramentaries of the ninth and tenth centuries,[2] and it is worth noting that the series of twenty-five used in the Murbach *comes* and in ours is also characteristic of the sacramentaries of Tours of the end of the ninth century. Some emphasis is placed upon this point because the *comes* of Bernard's Gospel-book differs, in its use of the continuous series, from the traditional usage of Hildesheim, represented by a ninth-century *comes* in a gospel-book of Hildesheim which follows the divided system. Inasmuch as Bernward is known to have visited St. Denis and Tours in 1007, and since the style of the works of art which he caused to be executed (notably the famous bronze doors of the cathedral of Hildesheim) are obviously dependent on French works of the schools of St. Denis and Tours,[3] the change in the *comes* which he introduced into his Gospel-book appears to be another of his French importations.

On the other hand, our *comes* follows that of Aachen in counting the ten Sundays after Epiphany. But the octave of Epiphany (no. 7) finds it agreeing with H alone, in the first lesson, with an alternative lesson (introduced by *sive*) which agrees with the Murbach *comes* and the Roman missal. The observance of the octave was current in Rome in the time of Gregory the Great, as may be deduced from his Homilies, and the feast is indicated also by the Homilies of Alcuin. The collection of Homilies made by Paulus Diaconus at Monte Cassino between 786 and 797 gives to the octave the pericope which is the first lesson in our calendar, Matthew iii, 13.[4] The octave was included in the Gelasian Sacramentary, appears in the Sacramentary of Gellone in the

[1] *Des heiligen Bernward Evangelienbuch* (Hildesheim, 1891), pp. 56 ff.

[2] Cf. Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 20, 37, 41, 51, 55, 58, 73, 77, 81, 83, 85, 88, 90, 92, 95, 97. Cf. on this point Dom Wilmart, *Rev. bénédictine*, XXX (1913), 59, n. 1.

[3] Dibelius, *Die Bernwardstür zu Hildesheim*, pp. 37 ff. Tours appears in the *Chronicon Hildesheimense* among the churches and monasteries with which the chapter of Hildesheim had made agreement for mutual prayers.

[4] Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches*, pp. 62, 142, 151.

second half of the eighth century, and is frequent in French sacramentaries of the ninth (appearing in all those of Tours of this century) as well as later. The alternative readings seem to be the preservation of two usages, the one Italian (Paulus Diaconus), the other Gallican (Murbach).[1]

St. Projectus (no. 18, Jan. 25), though recorded in the martyrologies of Bede, Florus and Ado, and in the Gelasian calendar, does not appear in the Aachen *comes*, nor in the others with which ours is compared. This bishop of Clermont in Auvergne (d. 674) is honoured in the French sacramentaries of the ninth and tenth centuries, though sometimes he is crowded out by the Conversion of St. Paul on the same day. The opposite is the case here, and it is to be noted that while the prevalent spelling of his name in the French sacramentaries is *Preiectus*, it is here rendered *Proiectus* as constantly in the sacramentaries of Marmoutier and Tours of the ninth century. The lesson is the *commune unius martyris pontificis* of the Roman missal.

For St. Bridget, (no. 20, Feb. 1) the *comes* gives the *commune pro virgine et martyre* of the Roman missal, Matthew xxv, 1. Similarly for the *dies natales* of Winwaloe and Benedict (nos. 25, 27; Mar. 3, 21) the *commune confessoris pontificis* is used. The *Cathedra Sancti Petri* of Feb. 22 (no. 24) is, according to Beissel's tables,[2] a late comer in the German *comes*, but early recorded in Gallican calendars, appearing in the Gelasian Sacramentary, in the missals of Luxueil and Bobbio, as well as in the *comes* of Murbach.[3]

The divergence of our *comes* from that of Aachen in the pericopes for week-days is hardly unexpected, considering the variety that reigned in this respect in early mediaeval pericope-lists. This is most marked in the readings for Thursdays in Lent (cf. nos. 86, 100), where variety of tradition has provided our *comes* with two pericopes, and in the Sundays after Ember weeks (nos. 81, 161), of which no. 161 also has two lessons. The reason for confusion is the same in both cases — the relatively late introduction of the pericopes. Special masses were given the Lenten Thursdays first by Gregory II (d. 731) and the long services of Saturdays of Ember weeks, lasting into Sunday morning, produced a *vacans dominica* in the Carolingian ritual, which was only gradually filled with proper masses.[4] The week-day lessons in Septuagesima and Sexagesima are also a variant from the Aachen *comes*, but their use is paralleled in other examples.[5] The Saturday lessons nos. 75 and 109, for which no parallel is found in A, but which exist, with the same reading, in M, may represent Gallican usage, particularly as the same lesson (John, vi, 53) is indicated for the second of these days in a *comes* ascribed to St. Riquier at Abbeville.[6]

[1] For other instances of the second pericope, see Beissel, *Entstehung, etc.*, p. 132, n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] Godu, *ap.* Cabrol, *Dict.* V, 1, cols. 864, 867; Beissel, *Entstehung, etc.*, pp. 68, 72.
[4] Beissel, *Entstehung, etc.*, p. 130. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 133, n. 2. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 135, n. 3.

Gallican usage doubtless also accounts for the variant on Thursday after Pentecost (no. 158; where our *comes* agrees with M, while in A the pericope is omitted), and for the agreement with M in the week-day pericopes of the third and fourth weeks after Easter (nos. 138, 141, 142). The reading for Tuesday in Passion Week (no. 112) corresponds to that of Aachen as to the chapter selected, but uses only the latter half of the Aachen lesson, as is the case also in other lists ranging from the eighth to the ninth century.[1] No parallel has yet appeared for the lesson for Friday after Ascension (no. 150). The pericope for the Sunday after Christmas is paralleled in M, though absent from A; the observance is frequently recorded in Gallican Sacramentaries of the ninth and tenth centuries,[2] and occurs in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Gellone in the second half of the eighth.

For the translation of St. Winwaloe on April 28 (no. 131) the pericope is Luke xix, 12, which is the one used in the Aachen *comes* and that of the Gospels of Ada (closely related to it) for a *natale Papae;* it is also a Gallican lection *in dedicatione episcopi.*[3]

The *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*, included in the Gelasian calendar, and commonly in the French calendars of the ninth and tenth centuries, is an observance found in the Lindisfarne Gospels of the early eighth century, whose *comes* however reflects the usage of south Italy. But the pericope used in this *comes* is Matthew xiii, 14, as is also the case with the festival as recorded in an eighth-century *comes* reflecting the usage of north Italy.[4] The early Spanish reading is the same as in our *comes*, which by its agreement with M is here following Gallican tradition. The feast does not occur in the Aachen *comes*, nor in that of the Ada Gospels; the Gregorian Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian omitted it, as indicated by the earliest copy thereof we have (in the Sacramentary of Cambrai) and the Lectionary of Würzburg, reflecting Roman usage in the seventh century, also omits the feast.[5]

No. 136, records the dedication-anniversary of the church of Landevennec and uses the pericope *in dedicatione basilicae* of the Aachen *comes*, Luke vi, 43. On the same day is the *dedicatio sanctae Mariae ad martyres* (see p. 265), with a note *legitur evangelium cuius occurrerit ebdomadae eo quod semper in die dominica celebratur ipsa solempnitas.* This note occurs both in the Aachen and the Ada *comes*, and in later derivatives,[6] affording thus, together with the use of

[1] Beissel, *Entstehung, etc.*, p. 135, n. 4.

[2] Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 20, 29, 34, 45, 72, 84, 90.

[3] *Comes* of *MS. 134* of the Capitular library of Trèves; Godu, *ap.* Cabrol, *Dict.*, V. 1, col. 872.

[4] Cod. Rehdigeranus, in University library, Breslau; cf. Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff. For the Spanish pericope, *ibid.*, p. 81.

[5] Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 11. Godu, *ap.* Cabrol, *Dict.* V, 1, cols. 899 ff; cf. also Wilmart, *Rev. bénédictine*, XXX (1913), 67, n. 9.

[6] Beissel, *op. cit.*, p. 133, n. 2. The *commune in dedicatione ecclesiae* is also found in Paulus Diaconus' Homilies, *ibid.*, p. 153.

the *commune in dedicatione ecclesiae*, excellent proof of the dependence of our *comes* on a model of their type.

The *litania maior* on Monday and Tuesday before Ascension (no. 147) presents a notable combination of Gallican and Roman usage. These days are the Rogation days of the Gallican calendar and have the same place preceding Holy Thursday in the Lectionary of Luxueil and the Missal of Bobbio, representative of Gallican usage in the seventh century.[1] The Aachen *comes*, and that of Bernward's Gospels follow the Roman usage of the *litania maior* on Apr. 25. The observance before Ascension belonged also to Celtic usage, being expressly stated in a canon of the Council of Clovesho (A.D. 747) as *secundum morem priorum nostrorum*,[2] while the litany of Apr. 25 is also enjoined by the same canon, but with the addition *iuxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae*. The Sacramentary of Cambrai above mentioned, reflecting Roman use at the end of the eighth century, places the *litania maior* on Apr. 25.[3] The change to the Roman observance was ordered by the Council of Aachen in 836.[4] Our *comes*, in common with that of Murbach, has kept the Gallican placing before Ascension, but has adopted the pericope Luke xi, 5 for the *litania maior* of Apr. 25, in harmony with the *comes* of Aachen and the Roman missals, besides adopting the Roman designation of the observance.

The *natalis* of St. Nicomedes on June 1 (no. 165) originated as a dedication of a church under his name, his proper commemoration occurring as in our calendar on Sept. 15. The feast is included by the Gregorian Sacramentary and by the martyrologies following the revision of the martyrology of Bede which according to Quentin arose c. 800.[5] The pericope is the same as that employed for the commemoration of Sept. 15.

The lesson for the feast of Sts. John and Paul (no. 173, June 26) is *prima facie* unique, being John xxi, 15, while the present Roman reading is Luke xii, 1, which is also that of the Aachen *comes* and of the *comes* of Hildesheim; the *comes* of Murbach reads John x, 5. The carelessness of our copyist, however, of which the notes on the transcript afford numerous instances, makes one suspect that we really have here not a separate reading but a case like that of the pericope and date of St. Bartholomew. It will be noted that he has not recorded the vigil of St. Peter on June 28, so that the entry for John and Paul immediately precedes the feast of St. Peter. The pericope John xxi, 15 is given for the vigil of Sts. Peter and Paul by the *comes* of Aachen, that of the Ada Gospels, that of the Gospel-work of Hildesheim, and by the *comes* of Mur-

[1] Beissel, *Entstehung, etc.*, p. 70; Godu, *ap.* Cabrol, *Dict.* V, 1, cols. 861, 868.

[2] F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), p. 147.

[3] Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 11. But other French sacramentaries of the ninth century maintain the position before Ascension, notably those of Tours at the end of the century (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 41, 45, 49).

[4] Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 136, n. 2.

[5] *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen-âge*, p. 684.

bach; it is quite certain therefore that our scribe has credited by error the lesson of the vigil of St. Peter, which he omitted, to the feast of John and Paul. We must therefore assume the presence of the vigil in the manuscript he copied.

The translation of St. Benedict (no. 179, July 11) is the traditional Gallican feast of this saint, characteristic of the Gelasian calendar of the eighth century.[1] The *natalis* of March 21 was of slower adoption, but is found in Turonian sacramentaries from the middle of the ninth century.[2] The *natalis* of Mar. 21 appears in the *comes* of Murbach, but uses the *commune pro abbatibus* (Matthew xix, 27) instead of the *confessoris pontificis* (xxiv, 42) which our *comes* employs for both *natalis* and *translatio*. The Murbach pericope is that of the present missal. The presence of both the Benedictine feasts is to be related to the inauguration of the *regula* at Landevennec by Louis the Pious (see p. 277).

On Aug. 1 (no. 185), the Macchabees appear, without the companion feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*. The lesson given, however (Matthew xiv, 22), is that for the latter feast in the *comes* of Aachen, of the Ada Gospels, and of the Gospel-book of Bernward at Hildesheim. The Murbach *comes* has the feast, which is characteristic of the Gelasian calendar, but reads Matt. xii, 46. The Roman missal reads Luke xii, 1. Again it would seem that our scribe has been guilty of omitting an item, viz., the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and of transferring its pericope to the following entry. Both festivals are found in the Sacramentary of Gellone of the middle of the eighth century and occur together with frequency in the French sacramentaries of the ninth and tenth centuries; we shall probably not err in ascribing to the calendar copied by our scribe the additional feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*.

The octave of St. Lawrence (no. 195, Aug. 17) is not listed in the *comes*-lists consulted by Beissel for his study of the development of the pericopes. It is, however, a regular feature of Gallican calendars of the ninth and tenth centuries, being included in the Gelasian sacramentary; it does not, however, appear in the *comes* of Murbach. The pericope repeats the reading of the vigil, just as the present Roman missal repeats for the octave the pericope of the *natalis*.

A noteworthy agreement with M is found in the pericope for the vigil of St. Matthew (no. 209, Sept. 20), which our *comes* and that of Murbach give as Matthew ix, 9. This is the present Roman reading for St. Matthew's day, occurring also in Paulus Diaconus, and the *comes* of Bernward's Gospels (H). On the other hand the present Roman reading for the vigil is the one used for the *natalis* in our *comes;* that of Murbach uses Matthew xix, 27. .

[1] Cf. Wilmart, *Rev. bénédictine*, XXX (1913), 67. See above, p. 50.

[2] Marmoutier; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

The feast of St. Luke (no. 216, Oct. 18) introduces a pericope for which no parallel has been found. The vigil and feast of Sts. Simon and Jude belong to the additions made to the Gelasian (Gallican) sacramentary in the course of the eighth century, and naturally show agreement with M. The introduction of the vigil and feast of All Saints, too late to be expected in A or M, has been discussed above (pp. 270–271).

St. Martin (no. 223) is commemorated in our *comes* on Nov. 11, as in the *comes* of Murbach, but the pericope is Luke xii, 35. This is the reading for the feast of St. Martin Pope on Nov. 12, and both the lesson and the commemoration of the martyr-pope occur in Nov. 12 in the *comes* of Aachen and in that of the Ada Gospels. Our scribe has evidently copied the lesson for the pope-martyr as the pericope for the popular Gallican confessor; his is not the only instance of such confusion, for apparently the same mistake was made by the scribe of manuscript no. 23 in the public library at Trèves, a Franco-Saxon Gospel-book of c. 900.[1]

The second pericope for St. Felicitas on Nov. 23 (no. 225) represents the conservation of a tradition other than the Roman one reflected by the Aachen *comes*, and presumably drawn from Gallican usage, although the feast is omitted from the *comes* of Murbach. The pericope is given from Luke x, 38, with a variant reading, *dum perambularet iesus per iter intravit in quodam castellum usque non auferetur ab ea*. In the Vulgate the passage begins: *Factum est autem, dum irent, et ipse intravit* etc. The same reading of the same pericope is used as a second lesson for St. Felicitas in Munich lat. 14222 (X cent.) and Vat. Ottob. lat. 74 (XI cent.).[2]

The saints' days end with St. Lucy on Dec. 13, as is the case also in the *comes* of Aachen, and the Roman calendar of the Sacramentary of Cambrai; Gallican calendars regularly (e. g. Murbach) terminate with the feast of St. Thomas on Dec. 21.[3] After St. Lucy's day the *comes* proceeds to the lessons of the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost, coinciding in the lessons for these Sundays and their numeration, exactly with the *comes* of Murbach; it differs from this, however, in having separated this list from the saints' days, while the Murbach *comes* follows the older system of intermingling the propers of time and saints. The week-days after the Sundays are listed, but no lessons are written in for them in our *comes*, though the Murbach *comes* has pericopes for both Wednesday and Friday for most of the weeks after Pentecost. The

[1] *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 26, n. 4. Cf. also Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher* (Freiburg, i/B, 1906), pp. 157 ff.

[2] Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, p. 187, n. 5.

[3] Cf. the Sacramentaries of Gellone, Marmoutier, St. Thierry, Corbie, Senlis, Camhrai, Amiens, Tours, St. Aubin d'Angers, Saint-Père de Chartres, St. Vaast, Champagne, Angers, covering the period from the second half of the eighth to the end of the tenth century. Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 12, 15, 24, 27, 34, 37, 42, 46, 50, 55, 73, 78, 81, 83, 87.

same omission of the pericopes for the *feriae* is true of the Sundays in Advent on the last page of our *comes*; here too the *comes* of Murbach gives pericopes for all Wednesdays and Fridays up to Christmas week. The difference between Roman and Gallican usage emerges in the identity of the pericope of our first Sunday in Advent with that of the last Sunday after Pentecost (seventh after St. Cyprian's day) in the *comes* of Aachen. The Roman usage reflected in the latter numbered only four Sundays in Advent, and the Gallican custom of five caused the overlapping of the series of pericopes.

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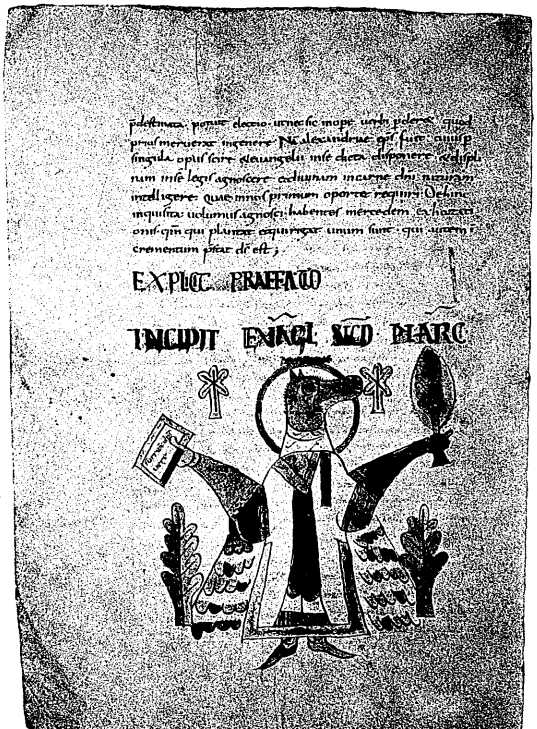
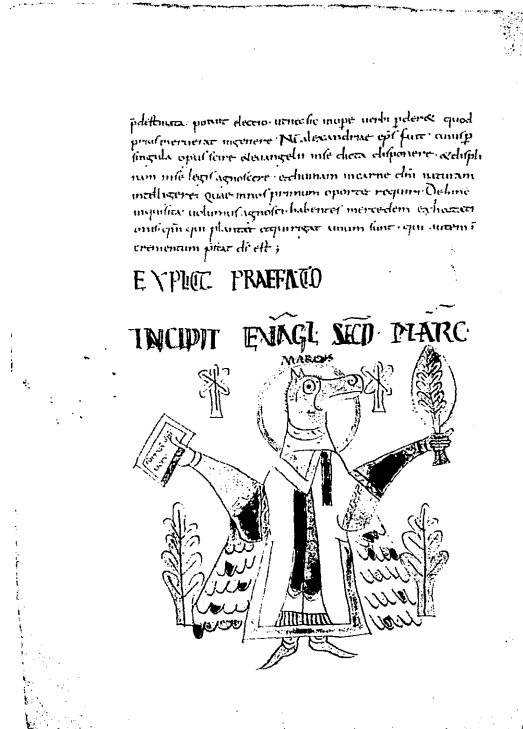


2. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of Mark

1. Landevennec Gospels, frontispiece



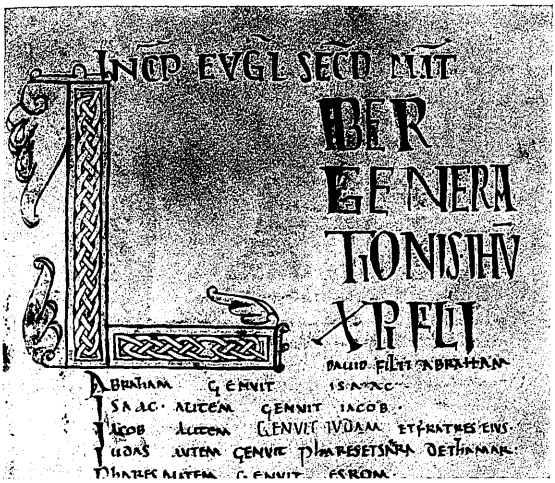
2. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of Mark

3. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of Luke

4. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of John

3. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of Luke

4. Landevennec Gospels, symbol of John



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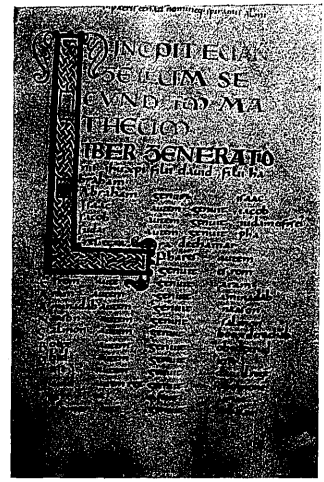
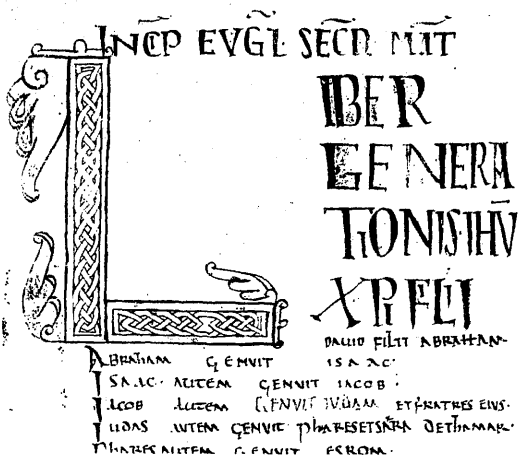


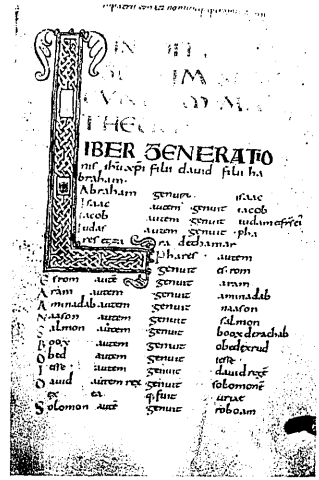
6. Gospels of Berne, initial of Matthew

7. Landevennec Gospels, initial of Luke

8. Gospels of Berne, initial of Luke



5. Landevennec Gospels, initial of Matthew



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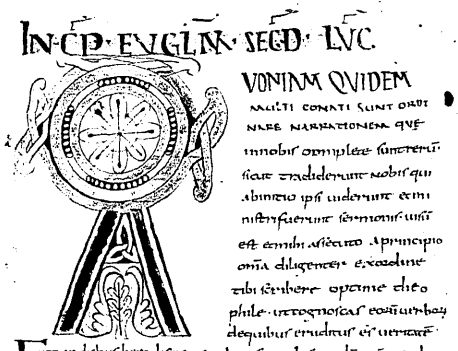


7. Landevennec Gospels, initial of Luke

8. Gospels of Berne, initial of Luke

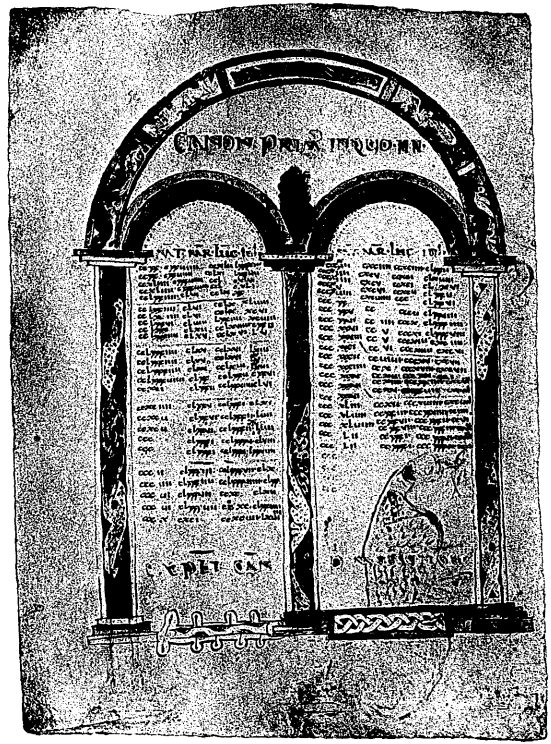
9. Gospels of Berne, symbol of Matthew

10. Gospels of Berne, symbol of Luke

9. Gospels of Berne, symbol of Matthew

10. Gospels of Berne, symbol of Luke

11. Landevennec Gospels, canon-table



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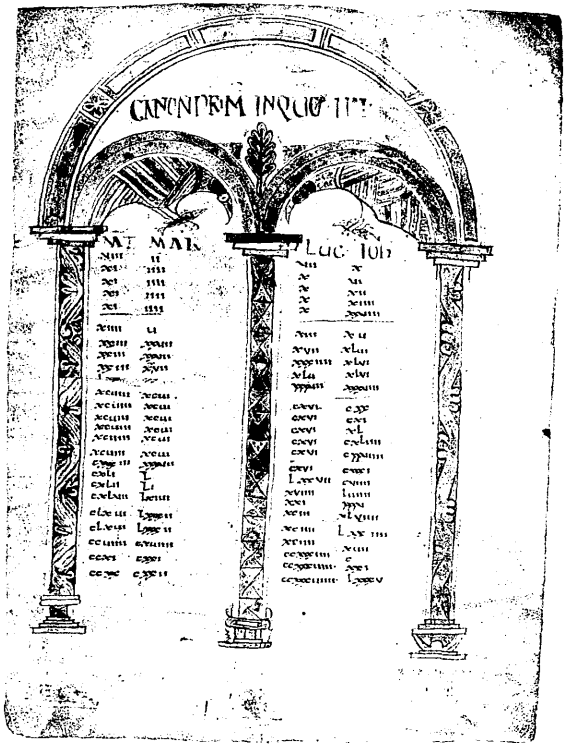

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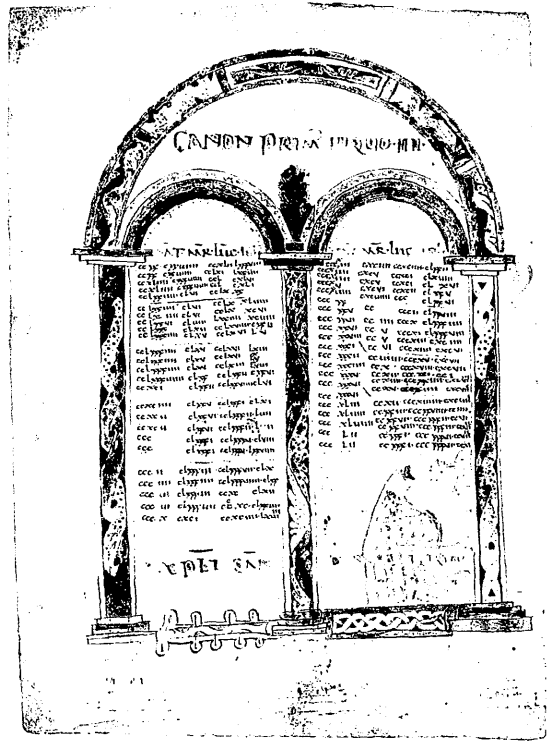

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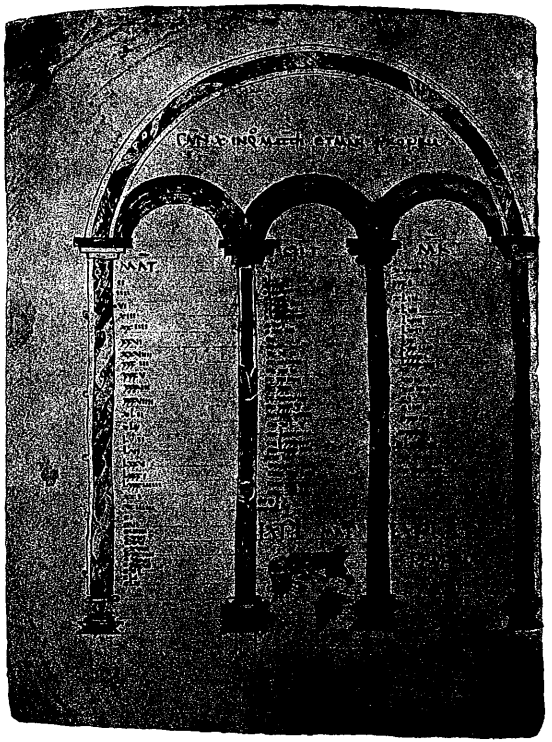
13. Landevennec Gospels, canon-table



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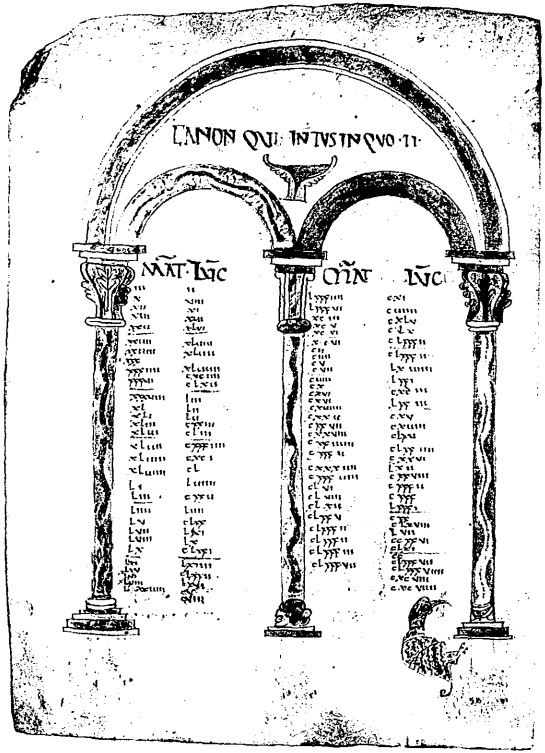

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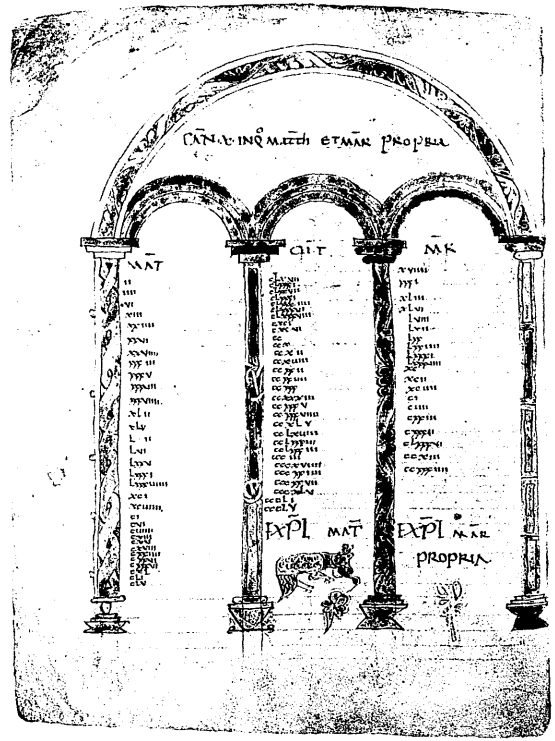
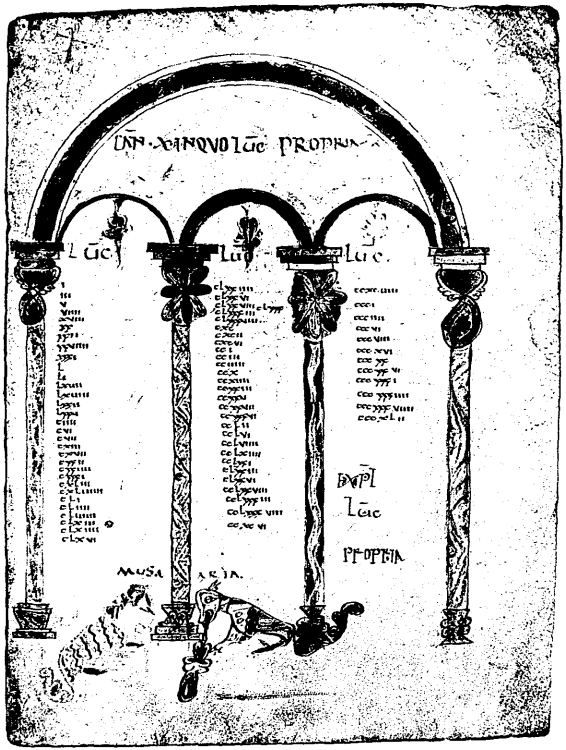


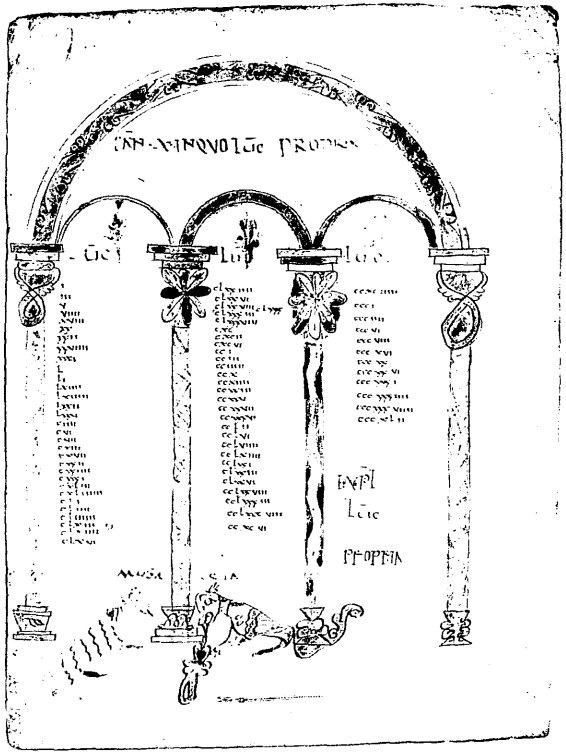
14. Landevennec Gospels, canon-table

PLATE VI



15. Landevennec Gospels, canon-table

16. Landevennec Gospels, canon-table



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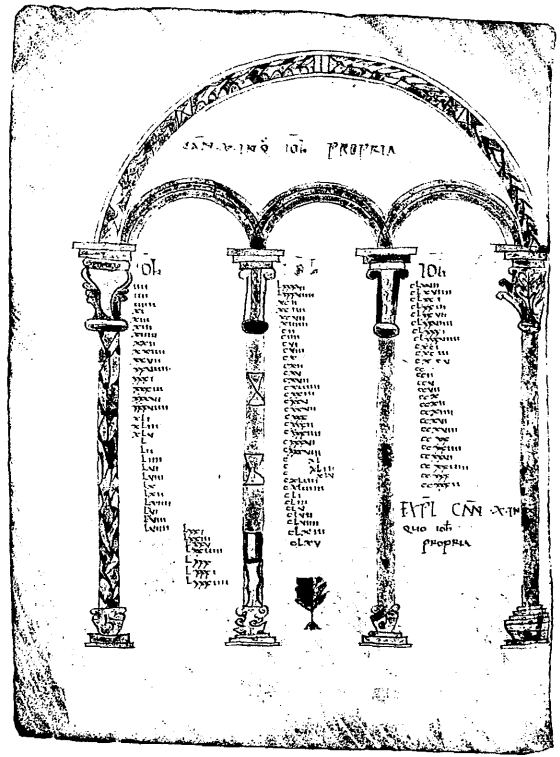

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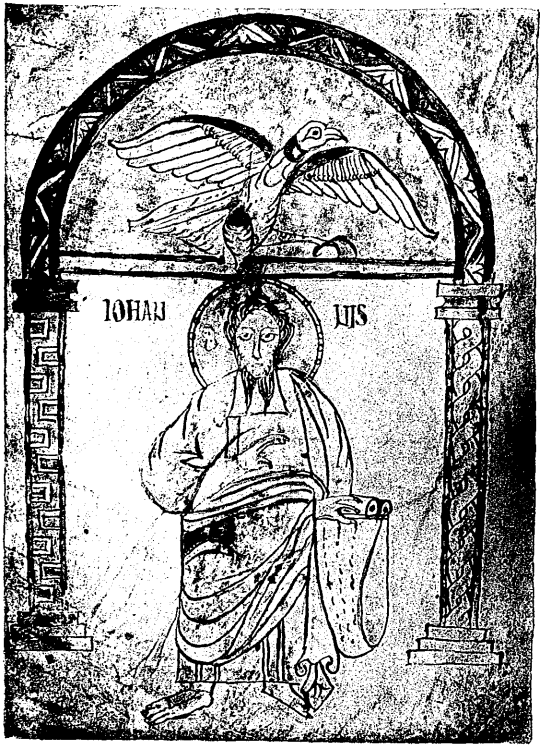


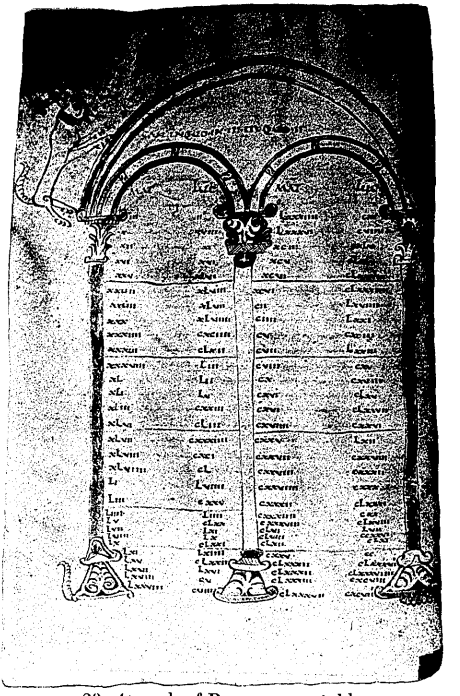
17. Gundohinus Gospels, St. John and his symbol

18. Gundohinus Gospels, Christ enthroned, with the four symbols of the Evangelists

17. Gundohinus Gospels, St. John and his symbol

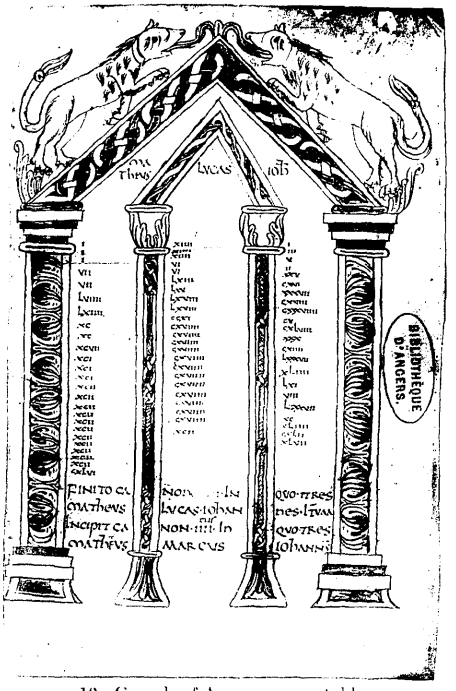
18. Gundohinus Gospels, Christ enthroned, with the four symbols of the Evangelists

19. Gospels of Angers, canon-table



20. Gospels of Berne, canon-table

21. Gospels of Angers, canon-table



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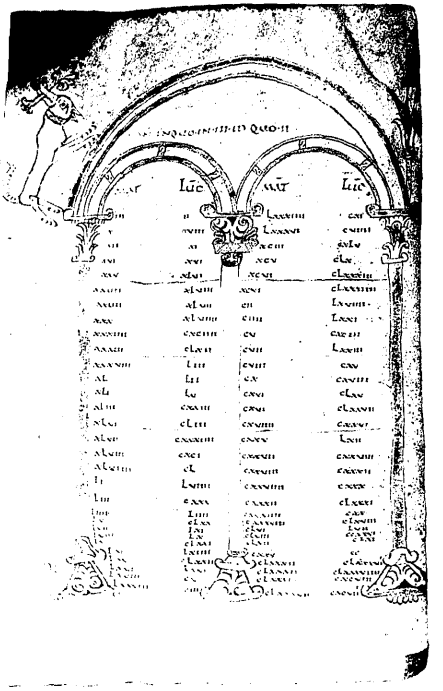

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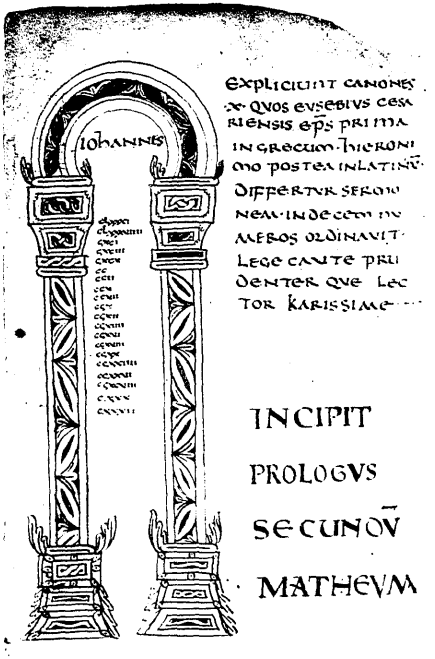

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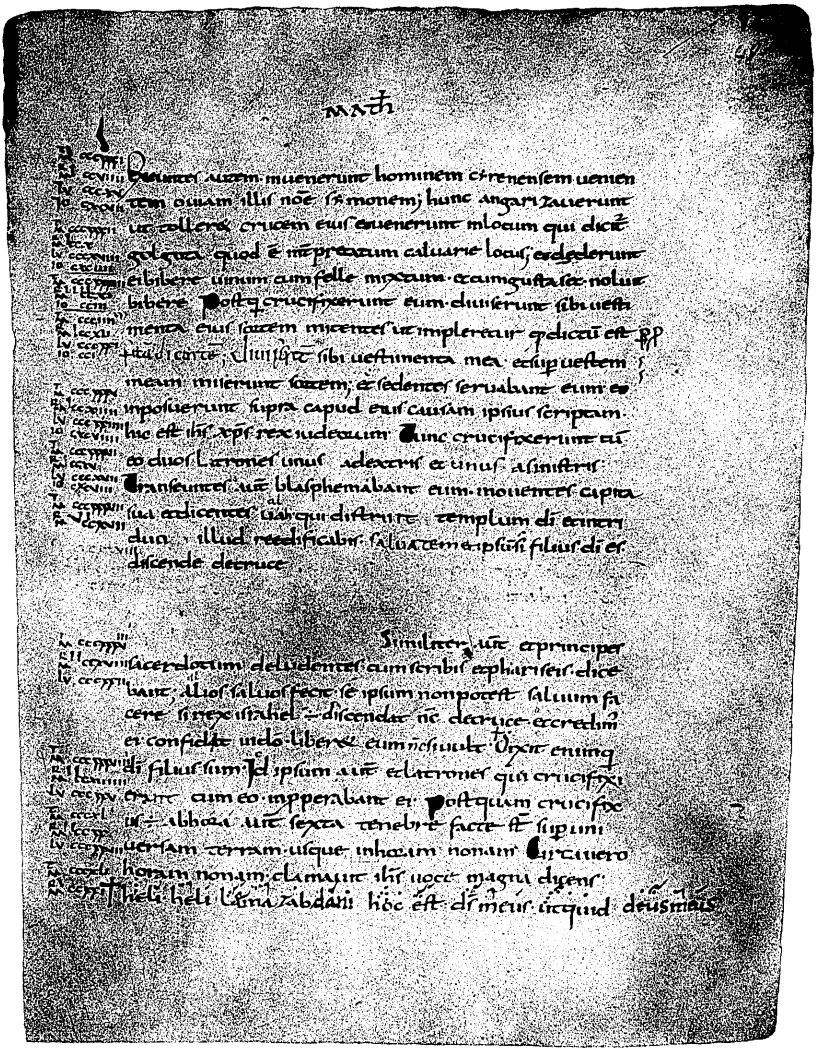
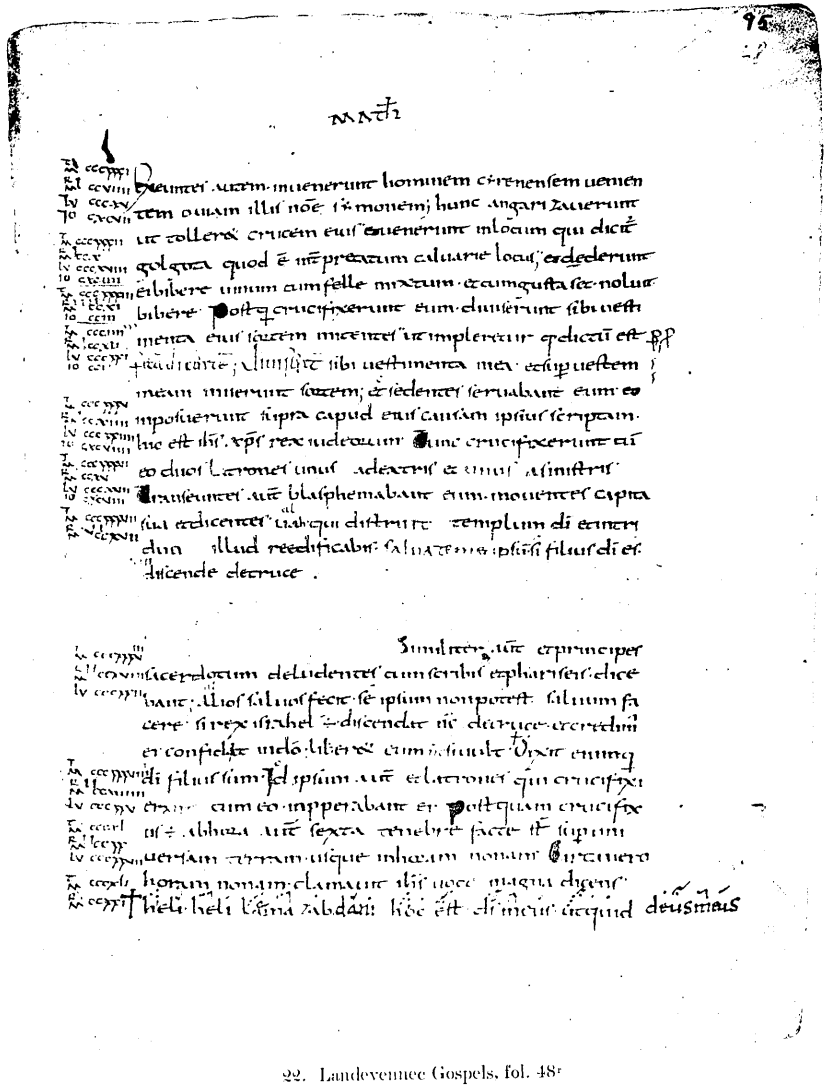


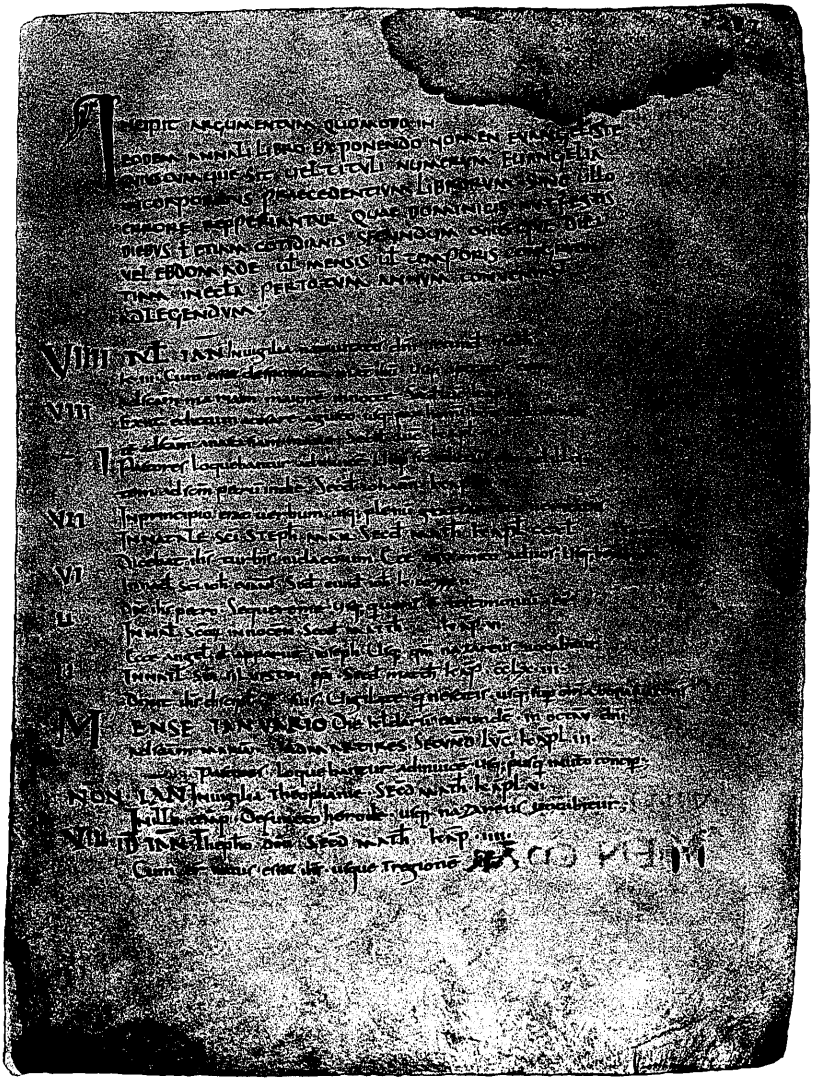
22. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 48r



22. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 48r

Sed

mē dereliquisti. Quidā aūt illic stantes audientes
dicebant; heliam uocat iste. Et continuo curreus unus
exeus accepta spongia impleuit aceto. et imposuit ha
rundini. et dabat ei bibere. Ceteri uero dicebant; sine
uideamus si ueniat helias liberare eum. Iesus autē
accepta lancea pupugit latus eius. Et exiit aqua et
sanguis. Jhs aūt rursum exclamans uoce magna emi
sit spm. Et ecce uelum templi scissum est inclusus par
tes usque deorsum. terra mota est. et
petre scisse sūt. et monumenta aperta sunt. et multa
pora sanctorum dormientium surrexerunt. Et exe
untes de monumentis post resurrectionē ipsius.
uenerunt in scam ciuitatē. et multis apparuerunt.
Centurio aūt et qui cum eo erant custodientes jhm
cum uidissent terremotum et ea que fiebant time
erunt ualde dicentes; uere dei filius erat iste. Erant
aūt ibi mulieres multe alonge uidentes que secu
te fuerant jhm a galilea ministrantes illi. Inter
erat ibi maria magdalene et maria iacobi et ioseph mr.
et mater filiorum zebedei. Cum aūt sero factū
esset. Venit quidam homo diues ab arimathia nō
ioseph. qui et ipse discipulus erat jhu. hic accessit
ad pilatum. et petiit corpus jhu; tunc pilatus iussit reddi corpus. et accepto corpore ioseph
ioseph. involuit illud in
sindone munda. et posuit illud in monumento
suo nouo quod excederat in petra. et advolui lapidē
magnum ad hostium monumenti. abiit
Erat autem ibi maria magdalene et altera ma
ria sedentes contra sepulchrum. Altera autem
die que est post parasceuen. Conuenerunt

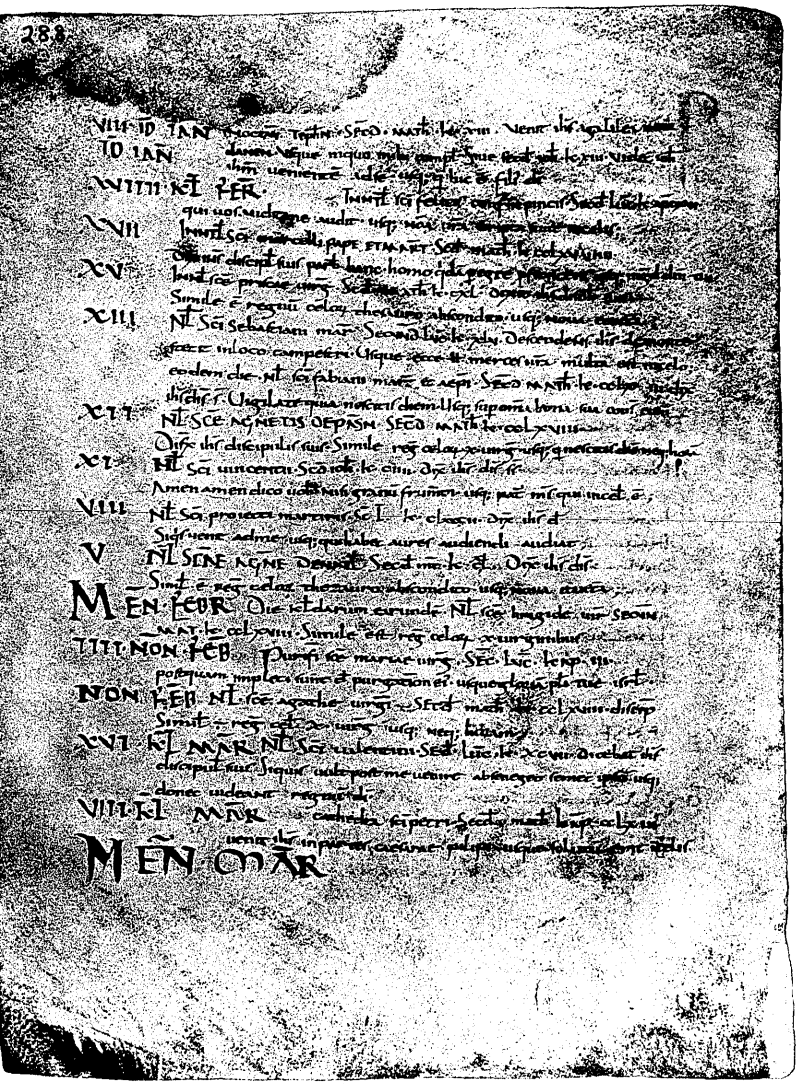


24. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 144r

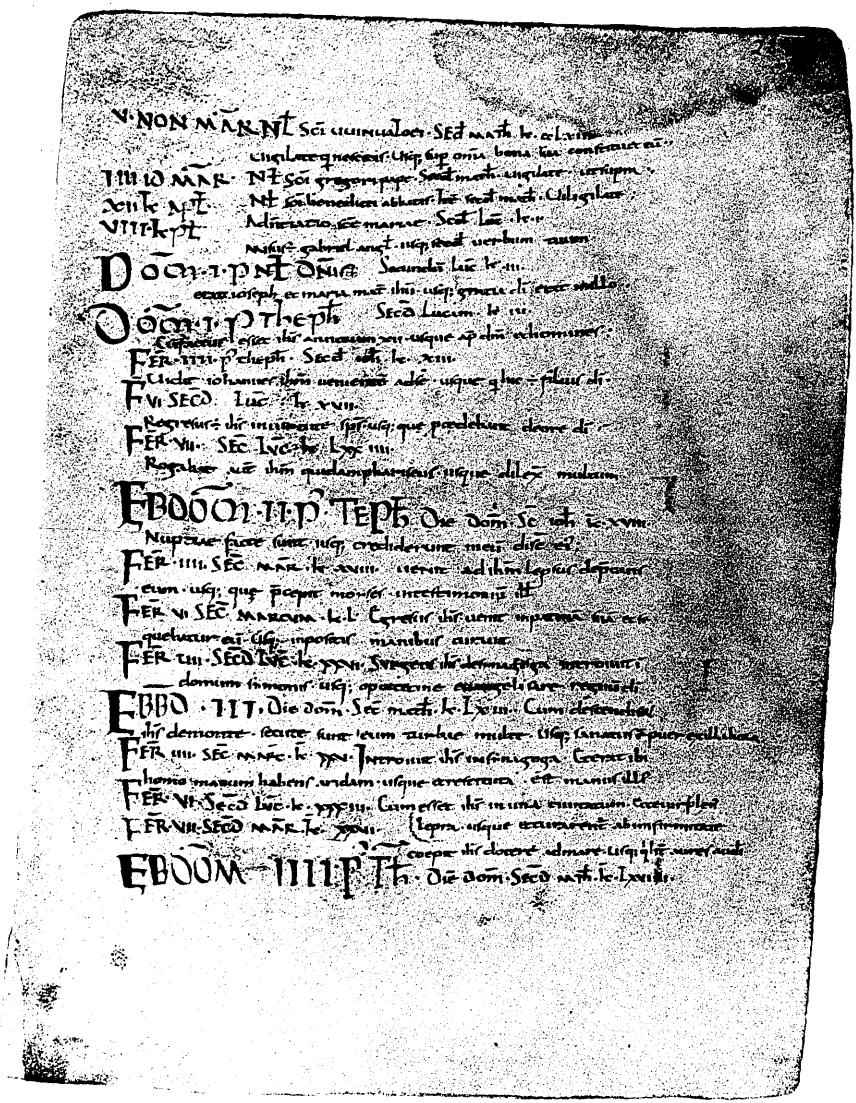
me dereliquisti. Quidam autem illic stantes et audientes
dicebant; heliam uocat iste. Et continuo currens unus
ex eis accepta spongia impleuit aceto et imposuit hy
ssopo et dabat ei bibere. Ceteri uero dicebant; sine
uideamus si ueniat helias liberare eum. Ihesus autem
accepta lancea pupugit latus eius et exiuit aqua et
sanguis. Ihesus autem rursum exclamans uoce magna emi
sit spiritum. Et ecce uelum templi scissum est in duas par
tes a summo usque deorsum. Et terra mota est et
petre scisse sunt. Et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora
sanctorum dormientium surrexerunt. Et exe
untes de monumentis post resurrectionem ipsius
uenerunt in sanctam ciuitatem et multis apparuerunt.
Centurio autem et qui cum eo erant custodientes ihm.
cum uidissent terremotum et ea que fiebant timu
erunt ualde dicentes; uere dei filius erat iste. Erant
autem ibi mulieres multe de longe uidentes que secu
te fuerant ihm a galilea ministrantes illi. Inter
erat ibi maria magdalene et maria iacobi et ioseph mater
et mater filiorum zebedei. Cum autem sero factum
esset. Venit quidam homo diues ab arimathia nomine
ioseph qui et ipse discipulus erat ihu; hic accessit
ad pilatum et petiit corpus ihu; tunc pilatus iussit reddi corpus. Et accepto corpore ioseph.
corpus ihu; inuoluit illud in
sindone munda et posuit illud in monumento
suo nouo quod excederat in petra et aduoluit saxum
magnum ad hostium monumenti et discessit.
Erat autem ibi maria magdalene et altera ma
ria sedentes contra sepulchrum. Altera autem
die que est post parasceuen conuenerunt

INCIPIT ARGUMENTUM QUOMODO IN
EODEM ANNALI LIBRO EXPONENDO NOMEN EVANGELISTE
QUISQUAMQUE SIT VEL TITULI NUMERUM EVANGELIA
INCORPORIBUS PRAECEDENTIUM LIBRORUM SINE ULLO
ERRORE REPPERIANTUR QUAE DOMINICIS ATQUE FESTIS
DIEBUS ET ETIAM COTIDIANIS SECUNDUM QUIS QUE DIEI
VEL EBDOMADE UT MENSIS UT TEMPORIS CONGRUEN
TIAM INSECTA PER TOTUM ANNUM CONVENIANT
AD LEGENDUM.

VIIII KL IAN Vigilia nativitatis dñi secund math
k. iii. Cum esset desponsata mr̃ ihu. usq; apparuit eap
VIII Adsciam mariam uxorē innocē. Sec luc kapt. i.
Exiit edictum acesare augusto. usq; pax hominibus bonae voluntatis;
- I ē adsciam anastasiam mane. Sec luc kapt. iii.
Pastores loquebantur adinuicē usq; sic dicatū est ad illos
rem adsciam petri in die. Sec iohañ kapt. i.
VII In principio erat uerbum. usq; plenū gratiae et ueritatis.
In natale scī steph mr̃. Sec math kapt. ccxt. Tñoct
VI Dicebat dñs turbis iudaeorum. Cce ego mitto ad uos. usq; benedicen
In nat scī ioh evang. Sec eund ioh. k. cc xxxiii.
V Dñe dñs pero. Sequere me. usq; quem ē testimonium ei.
In nat scōr innocēn. Sec math. kap. vi.
IV Ecce angel dñi apparuit in somnis ioseph. usq; qm nazareus vocabitur
In nat scī silvestri epi. Sec math kap. ccl xx. iii.
III Dixerunt discipuli ihu. usq; Ubi est q̃ nascit. usq; sup oma bona sua cōst
M ENSE IANUARIO die kl darii carundē. in octāv dñi
Adsciam mariā. ADMARTIRES. Secund luc kapl. iii.
— Pastores loquebantur adinuicē usq; pusq; inuēo cōcep;
NON. IAN Vigilia theophanie. Sec math kapl vi
Nillo tēp. Defuncto herode. usq; nazareus vocabitur;
VIII ID IAN. Theophania dñi Sec math kap. viii.
Cum esset natus esset dñs. usque tregione



25. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 144v



26. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 145.

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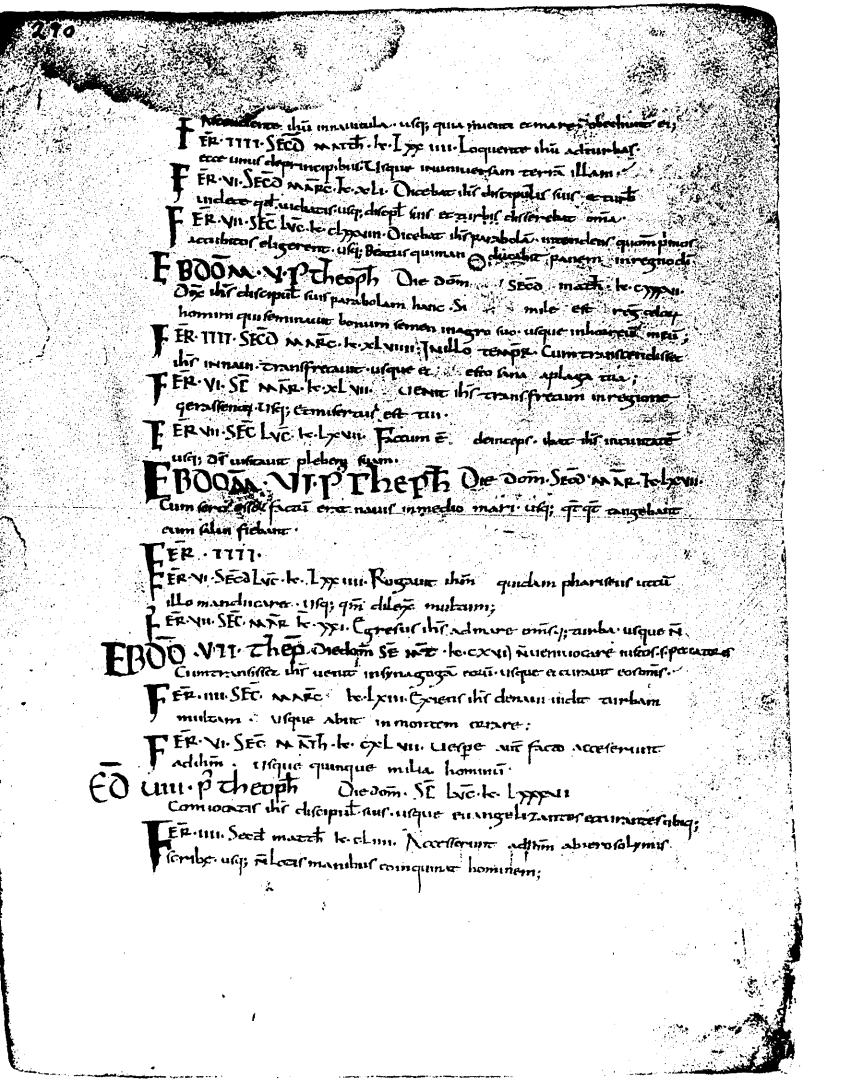
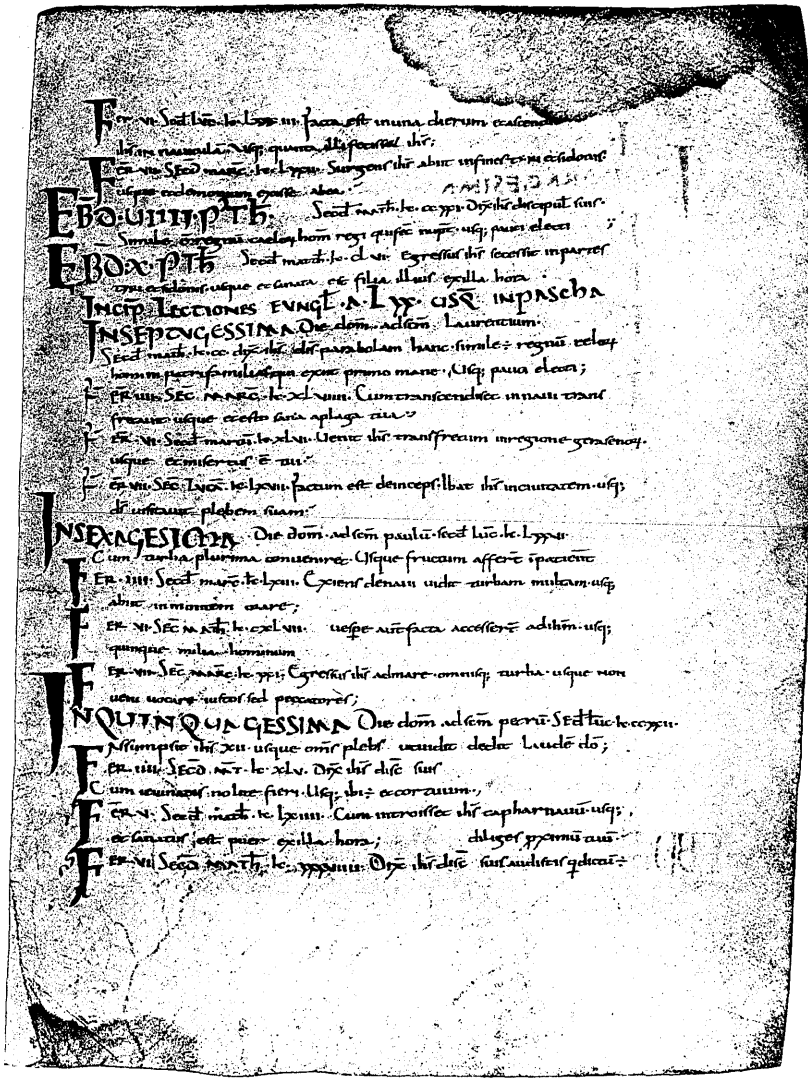
VIII·ID IAN INOCEN Tepin · SCED · MATH · he · xm · Venit ihc ygalilea ad
ID IAN damen Neque iniqua mihi compt Sque sect ioh · he · xm · vide; ioh
thm uenienc ad e usq; q huc & fili dr
·VIIII·KL FEB · INNTL sci felicis confis pincis Sect Luce · he · apoxm ·
qui nos ad regne sudm usq; Nov tra scripen sunt modis:
·VII INNTL Sci cuiacelli pape ET MART Sect · math · he · cel xv viii ·
dne nr discipl suu pare hanc homo qdi pegre pfiscent usq; mod dni au
·V· INNTL scē pricue uirg · Sect · MATH he · cxl · dxcc ihc dicit suis ·
Simile e regnu celoy thesauro abscondito usq; Nova ecclia ;
·VIIII· NL Sci Sebastiam mr · Secund Luc · he · xlv · Descendebat ihc demonia ·
fecit miloco competit · Usque · ecce # mercedes tra multa est in celo ;
eodem die · NL sci fabiam mr & sept · SED MATH · he · cel xe m dne
ihc dix · Ungl ecce qua nos reliq chem · Usq; sup omia bona sua cont eum
·VII· NL SCE AGNETIS OEPAN SED MATH he · cel xviii ·
Dne ihc discipulis suis Simile regi celay · e · uirg · usq; q nescit die neq hor ·
·VI· NL Sci uincentii · Sca ioh · he · cmi · dne ihc dix
Amen amen dico uob Nisi granu frumen · usq; pe mr qui incet e ;
VIII NL Sci protecti martiris · Sc L · he · clxxxix · dne ihc d
Sequtur me · adme · usq; quhabet aures audiendi audiat ;
V NL SCE AGNE DENTL · Sect mr · he · Et · dne ihc dix ·
Simit e regi celay thesauro abscondito usq; nova ecclia ;
MEN·FEBR Die · NL dam eum eunde · NL scē brigide uir SECUN
MAT · he · cel xviii · Simile est regi celay · e uineis duabus
IIII·NON·FEB Pursq scē martine uirg · Sec · luc · he xp · m ·
postquam impleti sunt e et pascua ei usquequaq pls tue sect ·
NON FEB NL scē agathe uirgi · Sect math · he · cel xviii dixerup
Simit · regi celay · e · uirg · usq; neq; horam ;
·VI· KL MAR NL Sci valentini Sed luc · he · xe vii · dicebat ihc
discipul suis Siquis uult post me uenire abneget semet ipm usq;
donec uideant regnu dei
VIII·KL MAR cathedra scī petri · Sect · math he xp · cel xe m ·
MEN·MAR uenit ihc in partes cesaree philipi · usque sol erat · et tenebre

V·NON MAR NT Sci cuthbaldi · Sed math he. ecl viii.
cuglaterq; nescerat · usq; sup omia bona sua confessus est ·
IIII·ID MAR· NT Sci gregorii pape · Sed matth. cuglare · usq;pm ·
XVIII·K APR· NT Sci benedicti abbatis · hē sed matth. Cui glare ;
VIIII·K APR· Adhuc autē sē mouente · Scd Luc · he ·
Missus ē gabriel angl · usq; sed ver·him · tacuit ·
DOM·I·P PASCH Secundū Luc he. iii.
erat ioseph, et maria mr ihu · usq; grauid eū esse mille ·
DOM·I·P PASCH Sed Lucam · he · iii.
Expectat esse ihm · annuum · usq; ad ihm · exhominē ·
FER·IIII·P PASCH · Sed ioh. he. xiii.
Vidit iohannes ihm uenientē · ad se · usq; q hic ē filius dī ·
FER VI SED Luc : he. xvii.
Rogabat ihm quidam pharisēus · usq; dilexit multum ·
EBDOM·II·P·PASCH Die dom · Sē ioh he. xviii.
Nuptiae facte sunt · usq; crediderunt mei discē ·
FER·IIII·SED MAR. he. xviii. Venit ad ihm legisdoctor
eum · usq; quę precepit moyses · in testimoniū illis
FER VI SED MARCUM · he · l · Expectat ihs uenire in patriā suā et fa
quebatur eis · usq; imposuit manibus suis
FER VII · SED LUC · he · xxxii · Surgens ihs de synagoga · intrauit
— domum simonis · usq; oportet me euangelizare regnū dī
EBDO · III · Die dom · Sē matth. he · Lxiii · Cum declinasset
ihs demonia · secute sunt eum turbe multe · usq; sinistra puer gallilee
FER III · SED MARC · he · xxx · Intrauit ihs in synagoga · Erat ibi
homo manum habens aridam · usque ad extremum · ait manui illi ·
FER VI · SED LUC · he · xxxii · Cum esset ihs in una ciuitatum · ecce vir plen
FER VII · SED MAR. he · xxxii · Lepra · usque ad unum · abiit in patriam
EBDOM · IIII · P · PASCH · Die dom · Sed matth. he · Lxxiii ·
coepit ihs docere · admare · usq; q hic · surrexit a mo



27. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 145v



28. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 146r

Mcendente ihū innauicula · usq; quo ihūm · a mane · obediuit · ei;
FER · IIII · SCO · MARCH · le · LXX III · Loquente ihū · ad turbas ·
ecce mat' eius · & fr̄es eius · usq; inuenire eam · foras illam ·
FER · VI · SCO · MARC · le · el · Dicebat · ihs · discipulis · suis · & ait ·
illis · q̄d · auditis · usq; discip' · sui · ex · uirtus · exisse · ab · illa ·
FER · VII · SEC · LUC · le · el XXVIII · Dicebat · ihs · parabolā · istam · & · quis · ex ·
uobis · & · filiorum · usq; Beati · qui · non · Q · dicebat · patrem · mirabilia ·

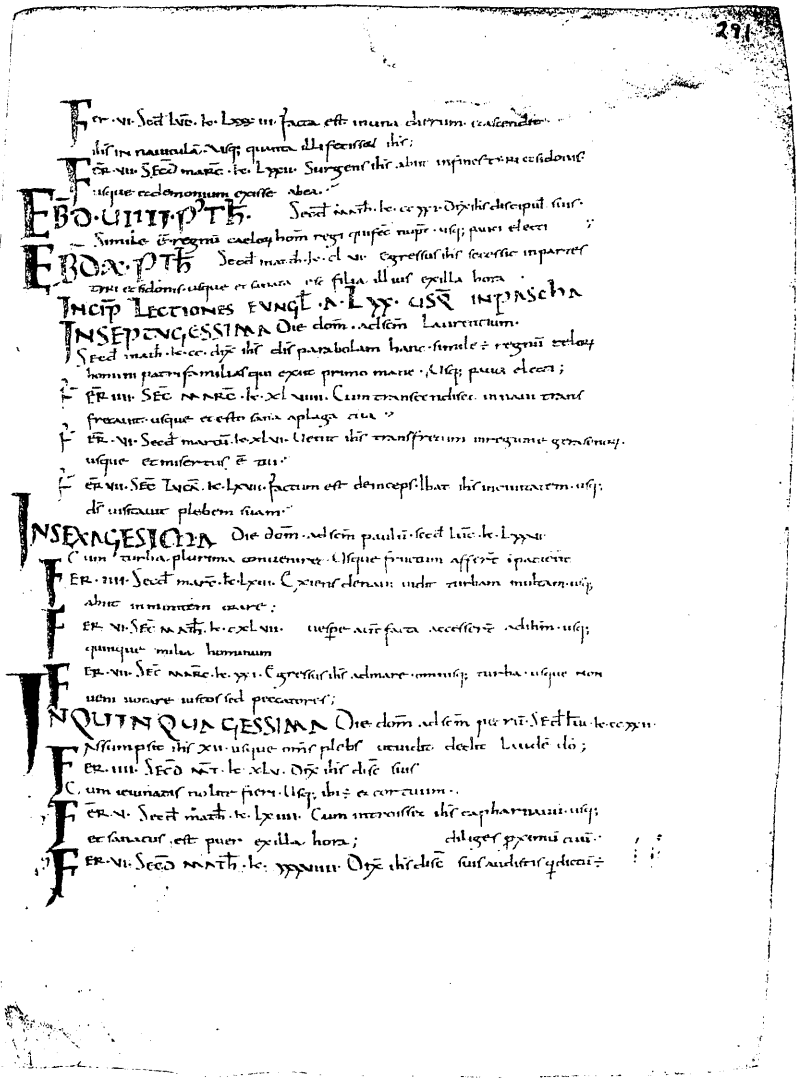
EBDOM · V · P · theoph · Die · dom · SCO · MARCH · le · CXXXII ·
Dic · ihs · discipulis · suis · parabolam · hanc · Si · quis · est · rex · ad · ag ·
homini · qui · seminauit · bonum · semen · in agro · suo · usque · inhaerere · mei ;
FER · IIII · SCO · MARC · le · el VIII · Illo · tempo · Cum · transisset · ihs ·
ihs · in · alia · transfretauit · usque · et · esto · tibi · ab · ira · tua ;
FER · VI · SC · MAR · le · el VII · Venit · ihs · trans · fretum · in · regione ·
gerasenor · usq; · & · misericordiā · est · tui ·
FER · VII · SEC · LUC · le · LXVII · Factum · & · dum · esset · ihs · in · ciuitate ·
usq; · & · in · suam · plebem · suam ·

EBDOM · VI · P · theph · Die · dom · SCO · MARC · le · CXXVII ·
Cum · iret · ihs · in · naui · in · medio · maris · usq; · & · q̄ · ait · angelus ·
cum · salū · fuerint ·

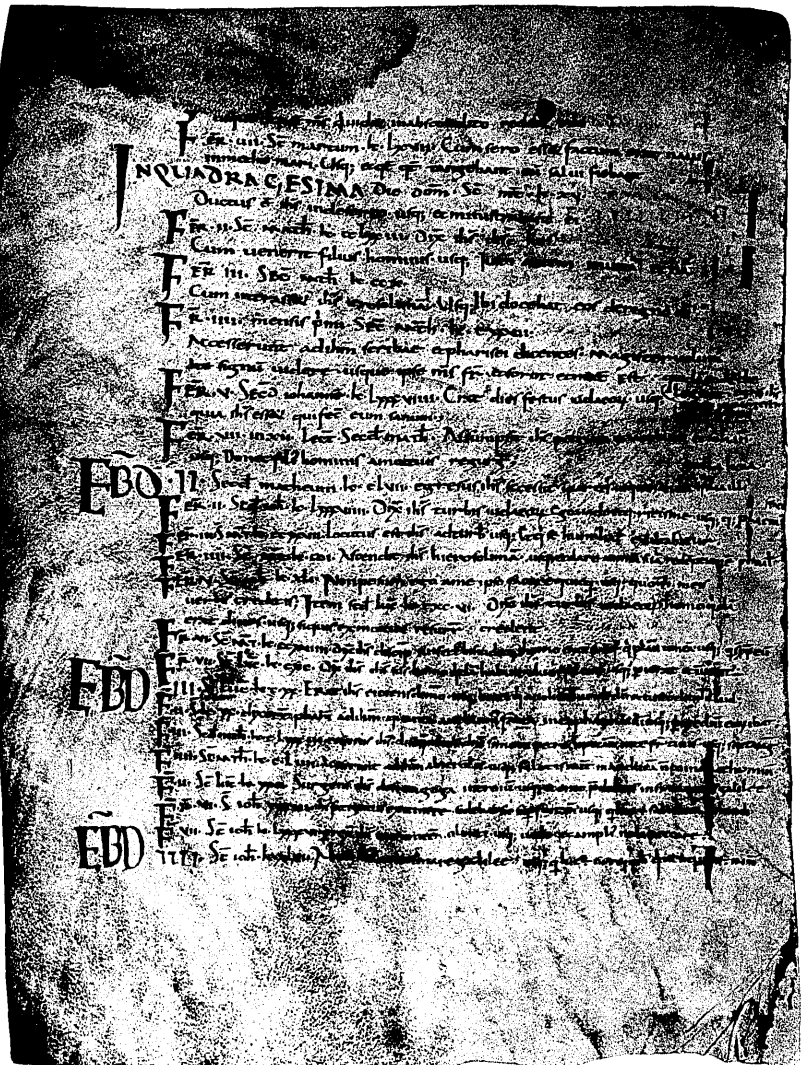
FER · IIII ·
FER · VI · SCO · LUC · le · LXX III · Rogauit · ihm · quidam · pharisæus · ut ·
illo · manducaret · usq; · & · in · domū · eius ·
FER · VII · SEC · MAR · le · XVI · Egressus · ihs · abiit · in · fines · tyri · & · sidonis · usq · in ·

EBDOM · VII · theph · Die · dom · SE · MAR · le · CXVI · Iterum · coepit · ihs · docere · ad ·
Cum · exisset · ihs · de · templo · dixit · usque · ad · finem · seculi ·
FER · III · SEC · MARC · le · LXVI · Exeunt · ihs · & · discipuli · eius · in · partes ·
mulsum · usque · ibi · in · montem · ascendit ·
FER · VI · SEC · MAR · le · el VII · Cum · ergo · ihs · & · discipuli · eius ·
ad · ihm · usque · quinque · milia · hominū ·

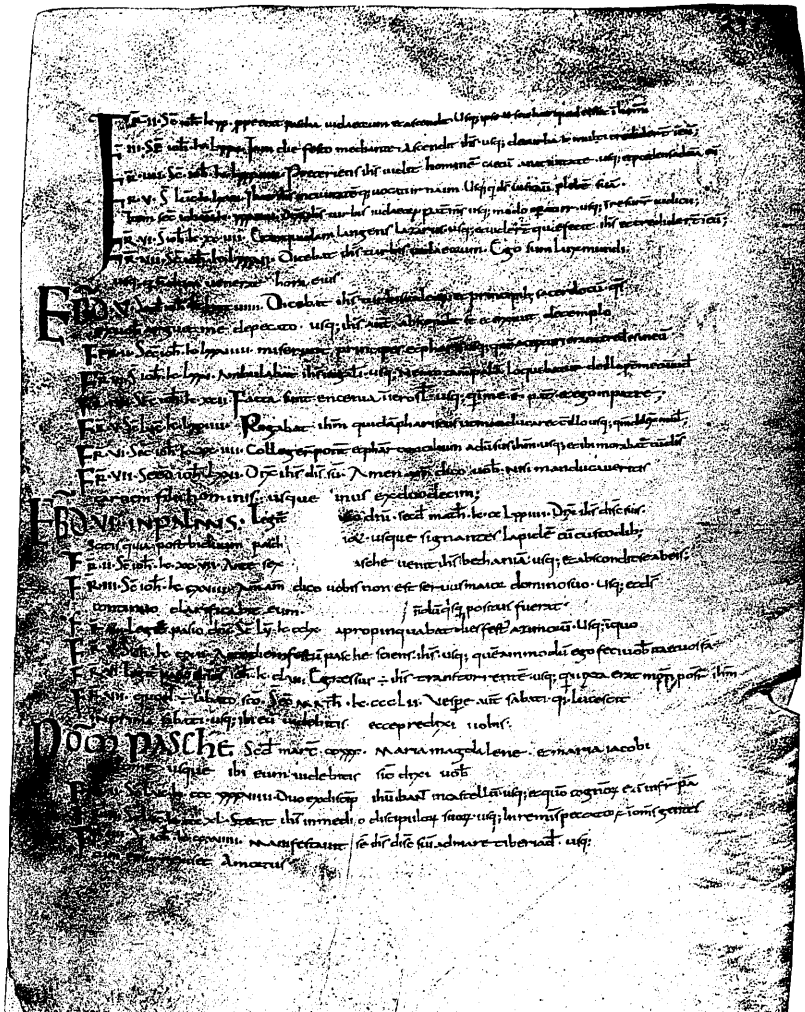
ED · III · P · theoph · Die · dom · SE · LUC · le · LXXXVII ·
Conuocatis · ihs · discipulis · suis · usque · ex · angelis · & · ex · ecclesiis · eius ·
FER · III · SCO · MARCH · le · el III · Accesserunt · ad · ihm · scribæ · & · pharisæi ·
de · hierosolymis · usq; · & · dixerunt · quia · hominem ·

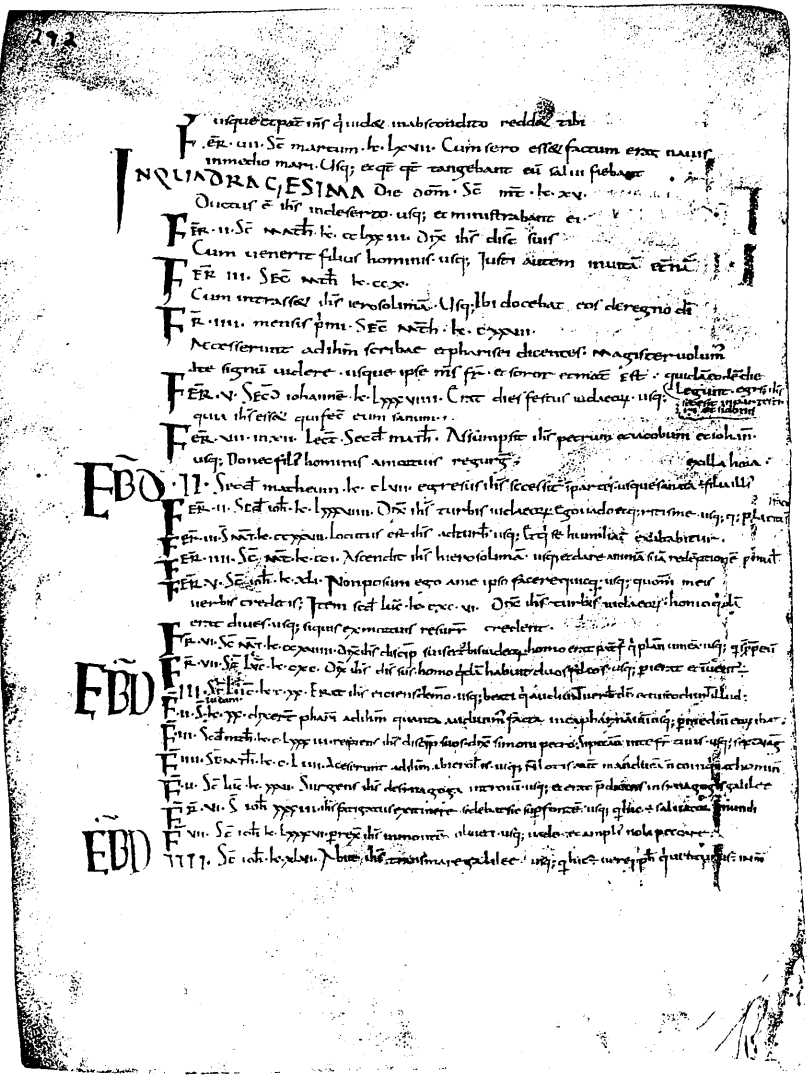


28. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 146r



29. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 146v





29. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 146v

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. ꝓpropter pascha iudeorum recedebat ihs [illegible] quod esset thom[illegible]

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. Iesus die festo medium. descendit ihs usq; clamabit te mihi credidere iudei;

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. Precorient ihs uelle hominẽ eiecit. uenerunt usq; expectendebat ei

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. Iherusalem mouebatur quoniam non usq; plebe sua.

Item sc̃ iohannis. ypocrisim. dixit ihs ergo ihs mulieres pueri usq; modo operam usq; credere uidetur;

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. Erat quidam Lazarus usq; quietem quieuerit ihs et credidere iudei;

[illegible] Sc̃ iohis lectio. Iudeorum ihs ergo ihs mundi. Ego sum Lucernundi.

usq; quidam uenerunt hora eius.

EBD. V. Sci iohis lectio. Dicebat ihs ergo principis sacerdotũ et

ejectabit usque me elapsus uso; ihs autẽ abscondit se a templo

Fer. II. Sc̃i iohis lectio. misertus principes pharisæi usq; pro nobis

Fer. III. Sc̃i iohis. Ambulabat ihs in Galilæa. non usq; nemo tam palæ loquebatur dell[illegible]

Fer. IIII. Sc̃ iohis. xcii. Facta sunt encenia in Hierosolymis usq; time. p. nobis ego in pace.

Fer. V. Sc̃ iohis. Rogabat ihs quidam pharisæi roman duarum dilaug; quidq; mat;

Fer. VI. Sc̃ iohis. xi. Collegerunt pontifices et pharisæi concilium. adiuuabit ihs usq; ihs in mortuos sacris

Fer. VII. Sc̃d iohis. Dixit ihs iesus. Amen amen dico uobis. nisi manducaueritis

carnem filii hominis. usque in nouissimo die.

EBD. VI. IN PALMIS. Lectio sancti. usq; dñi. sed mathei. Cum appropinquasset ihs Hierosolymis.

Sexto quoq; post biduum pasch. ad usque signatum quod tradet ei discipuli;

Fer. II. Sc̃ iohis. xcvii. Ante sex diebus ihs usq; ut absconderit ab eis;

Fer. III. Sc̃ iohis. xcviii. Non dico uobis de omnibus usq; ecclesiæ

contamino clarificabo eum. iudicium usq; potestatem tuam.

Fer. IIII. Lectio passio dñi. Sc̃ Lucæ. Appropinquabat diebus festis azimorum. usq; eo

Fer. V. Sc̃ iohis. xcvi. Ante sex dies pasche venit ihs usq; quem modo exposuerunt mecum ea

Fer. VI. Lectio passio dñi. iohis. Exierunt ihs trans torrentem cedron usq; quod ego sum nomen potest ihs

Fer. VII. quod + fabro sco. Sc̃ matth. Accesserunt usq; fabri qui locutus

in prima sabbati usq; ibi eum videbunt. ecce predixi uobis.

DOM. PASCHE. Sci mane. xcvi. Maria magdalene. et maria iacobi

et salome. usque ibi eum videbitis. sic dixi uobis.

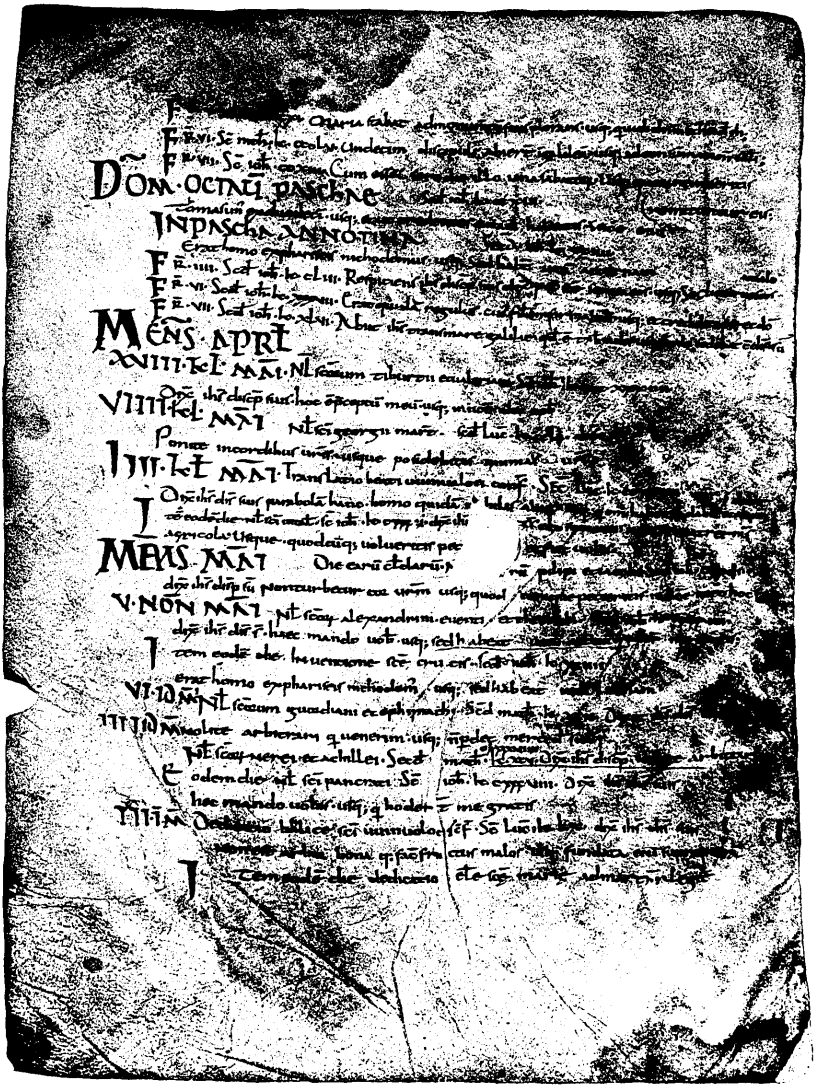
Fer. II. Sc̃ luce. ccc. xxxviii. Duo ex discipulis ihs erant autem oculi eorum tenebantur ne

Fer. III. Sc̃ luce. ccc. xl. Stetit ihs in medio discipulorum suorum; usq; ihs ait pax uobis

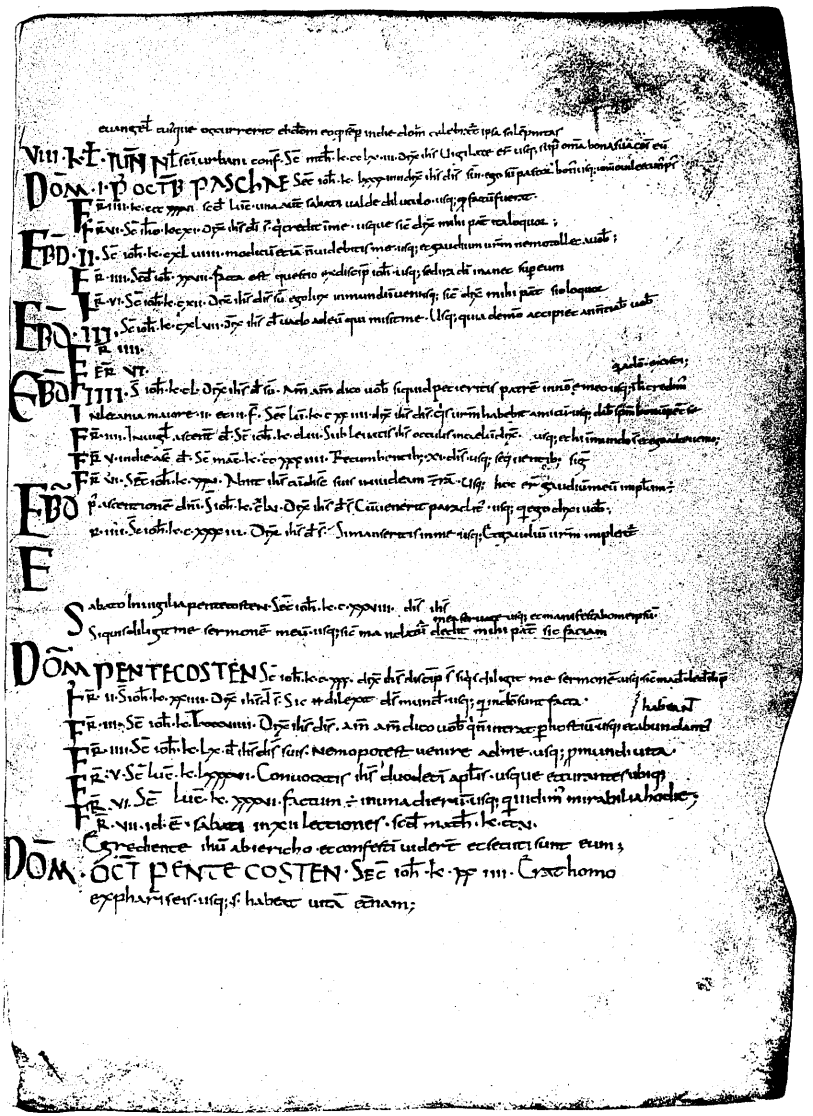
Fer. III. Sc̃ iohis. xcviii. Manifestauit se iterum ihs. et non erant ausi usq;

eum resurgere. Amen.

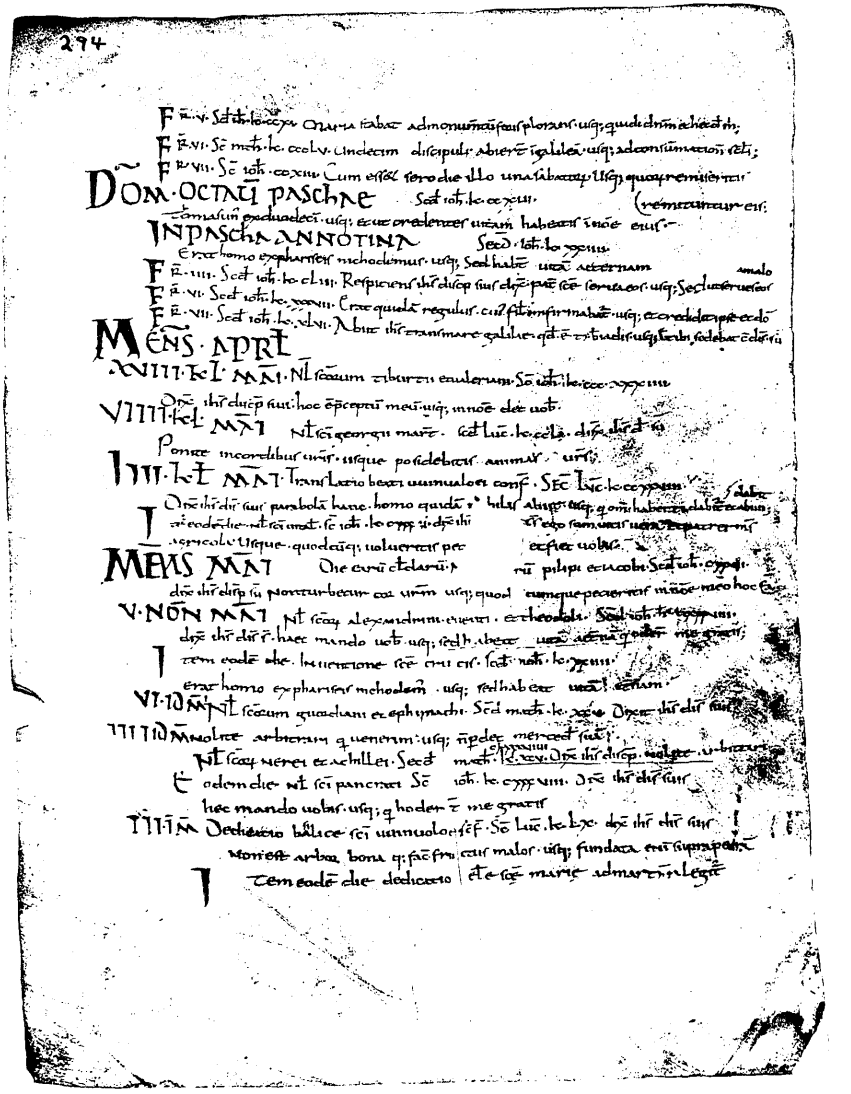
30. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 147r



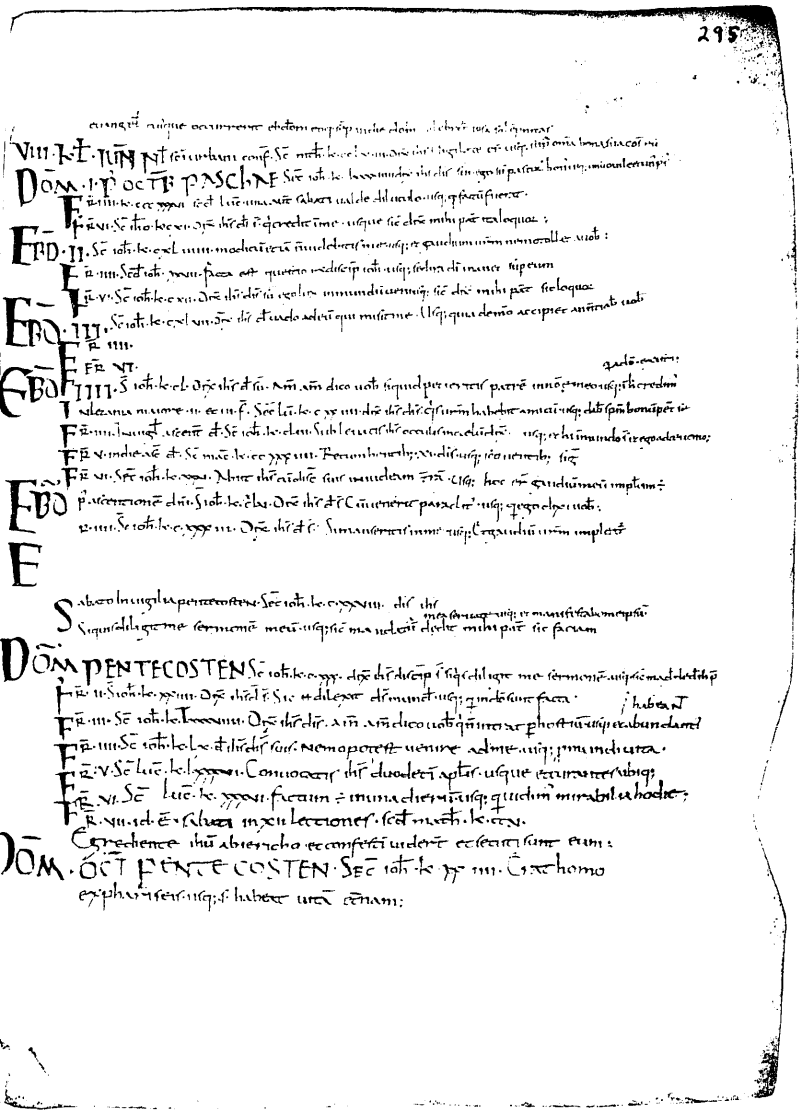
31. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 147v



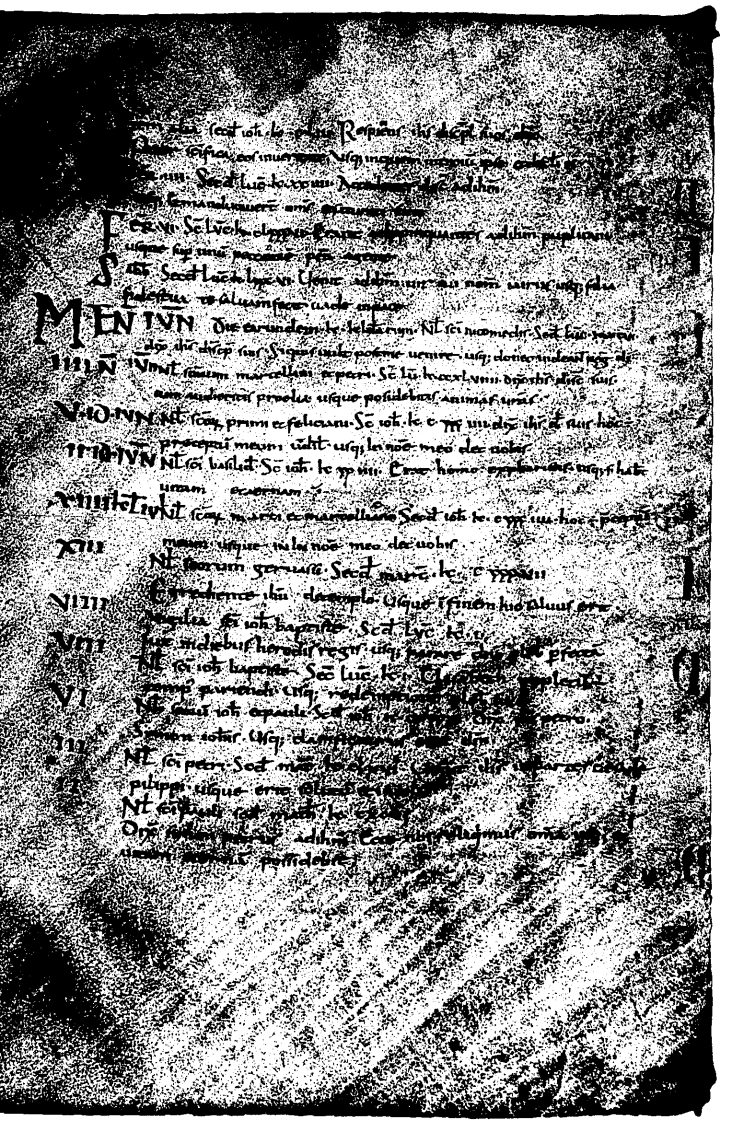
32. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 148r



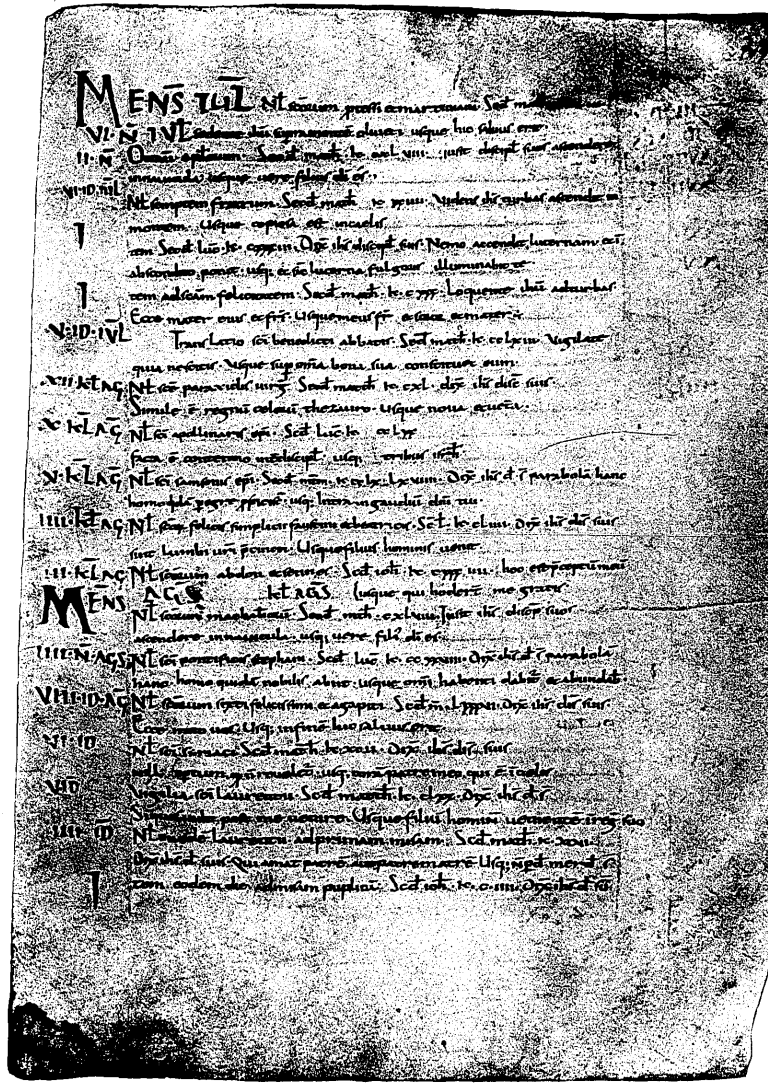
31. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 147v



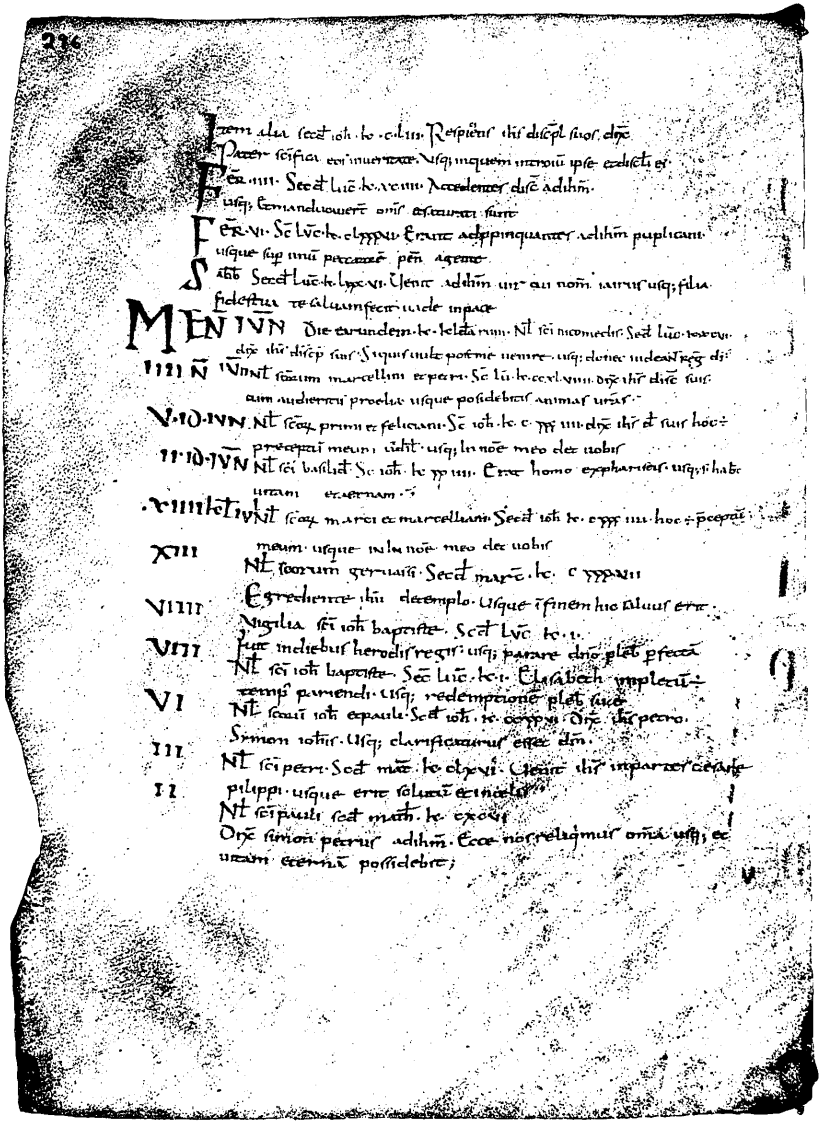
32. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 148r



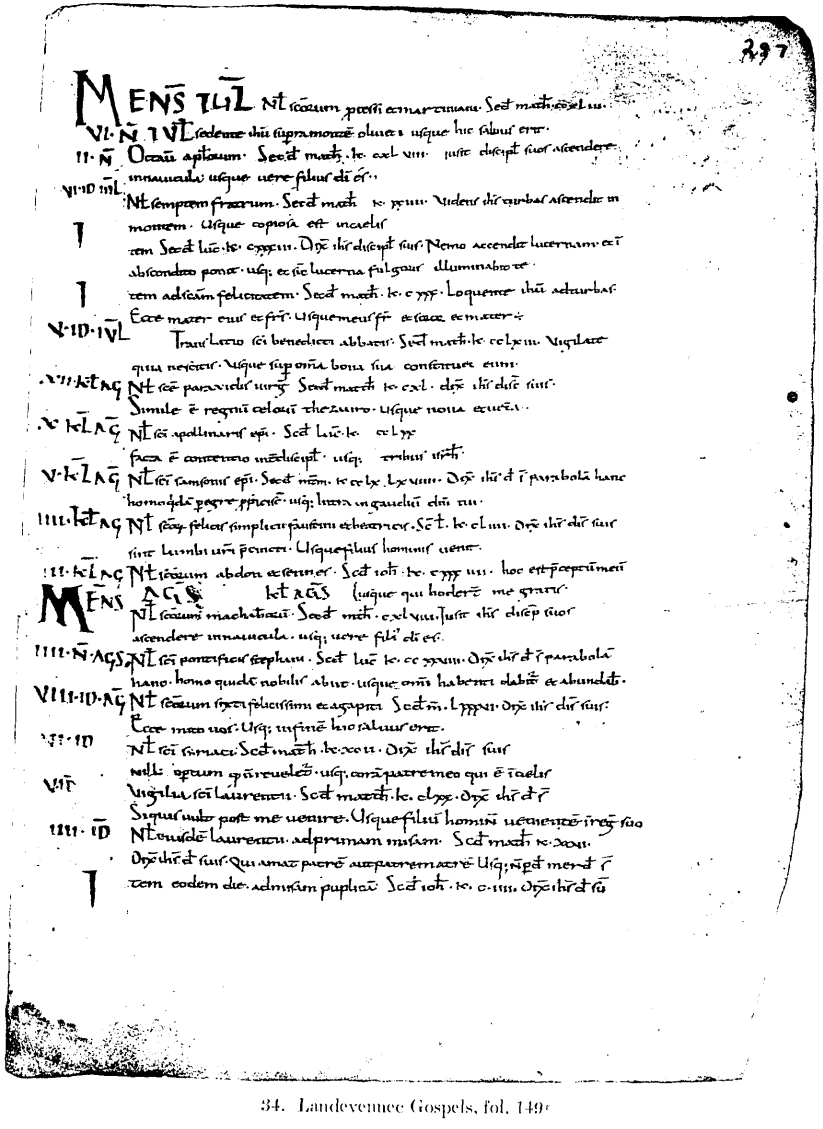
33. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 148v



34. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 149r

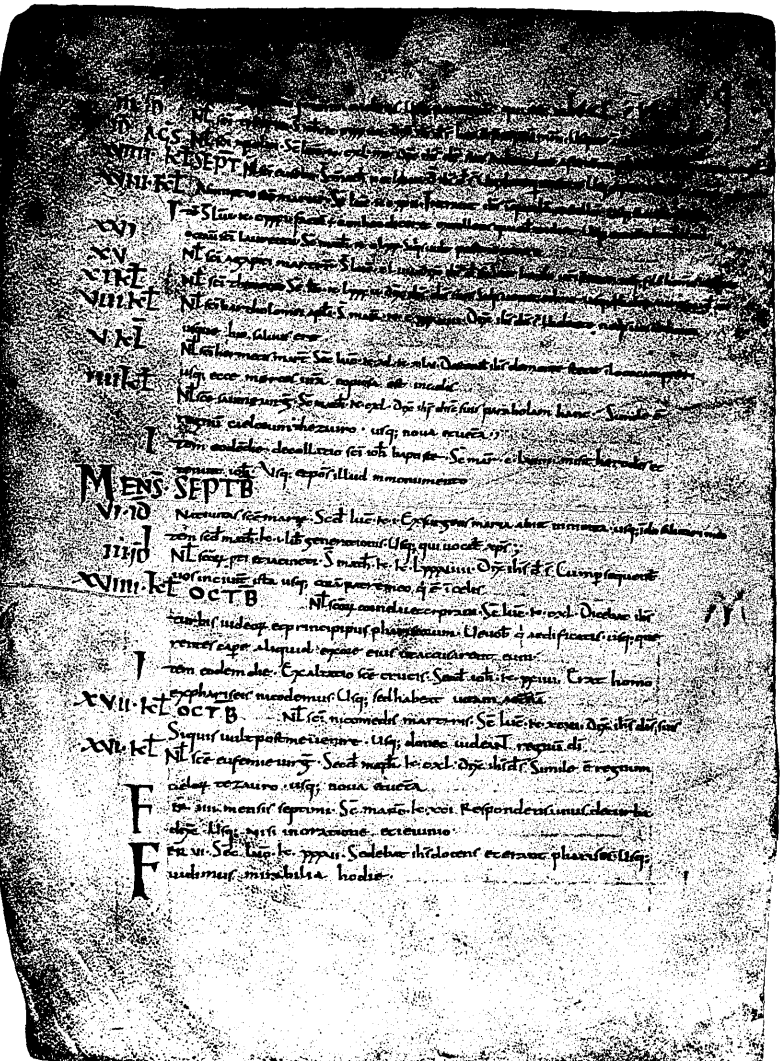


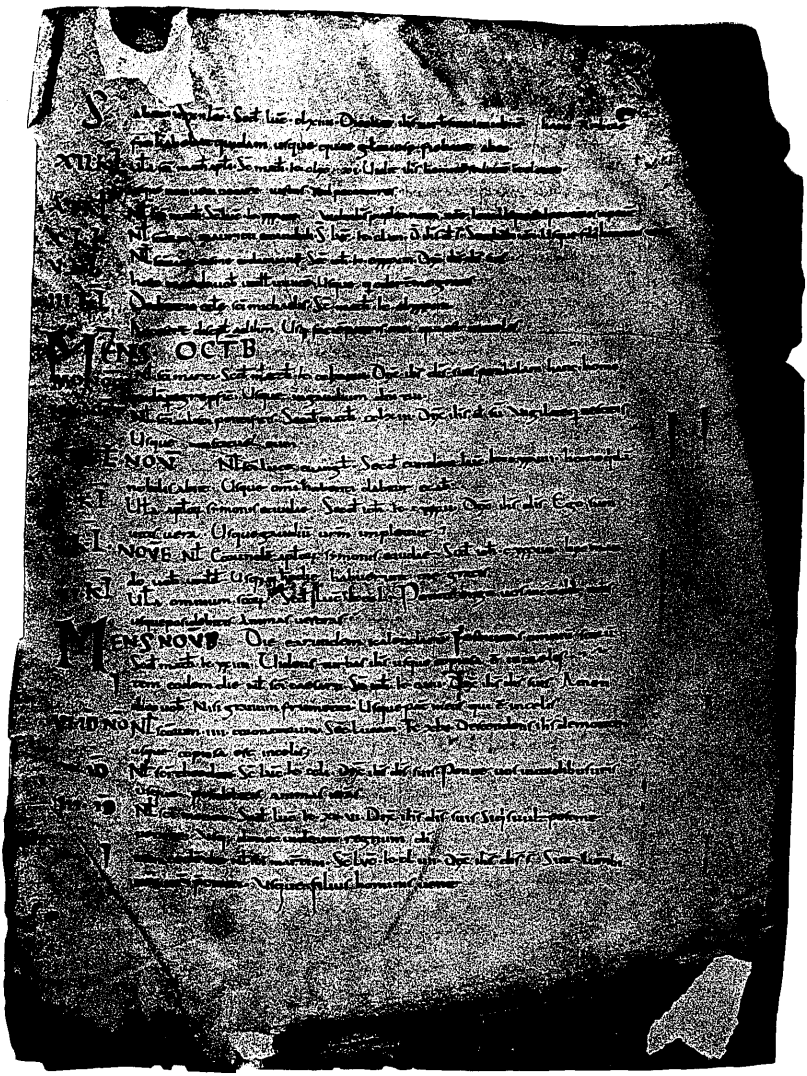
33. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 148v



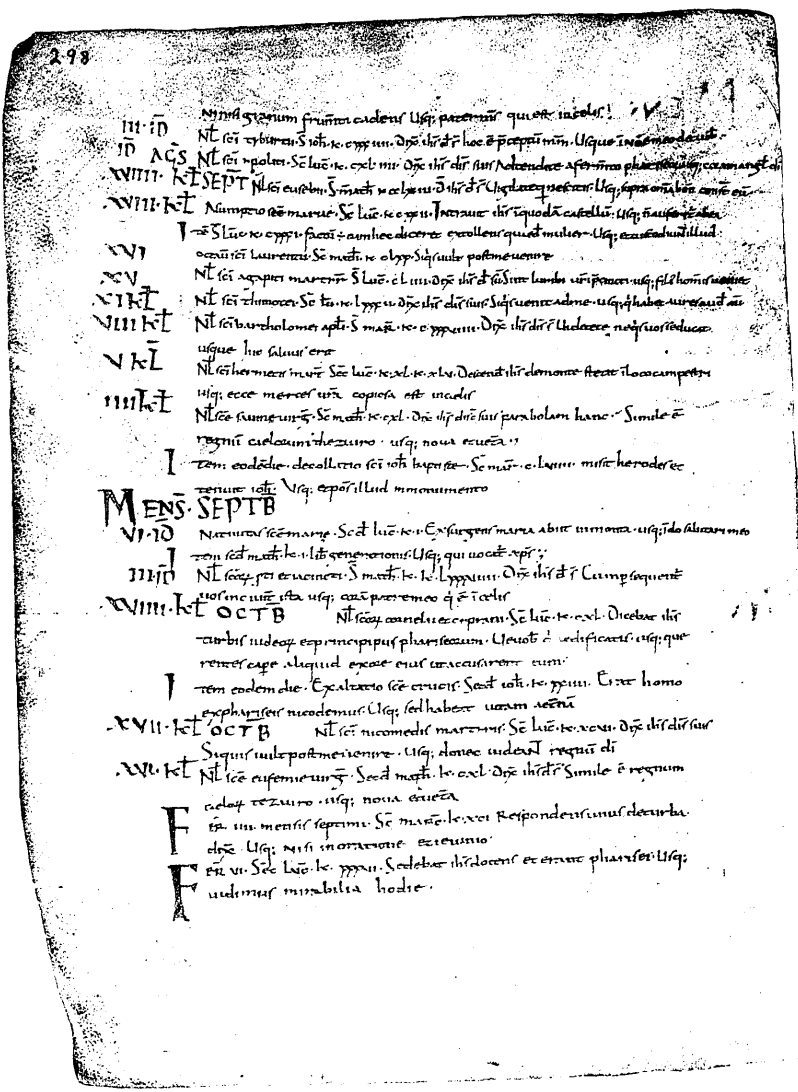
MENS TUL Nt scēorum pontifi ecmar-tyrum· Scī matth̄i·ℓ·L·u·
VI·Ñ·IVL sedeant tū supra mortē oluer· usque hic salus erit·
II·Ñ Occāū apl̄orum· Sce·t matth̄·le· exl· viii· iuste dispt suor· ascendere·
VI·ID·mL innumeralis· usque uere salus dī ēr··
Nt sempitern fratrum· Scī matth· le· xxiii· Videns dñs turbas ascendit in
montem· Usque copiosa est· incaelis
I rem Scī luc̄·le· cxxxii· Dñs thr̄ discipl suis· Nemo accendit lucernam· cū
abscondito ponat· usq; ex sic lucerna fulgeat· illuminabit·re·
I rem adicūm felicitatem· Scī matth·le· cxxx· Loquente dñō turbas
Ecce mater· eius et frēs· Usque meus ēt· et iacet· et mater·
V·ID·IVL Trans Leonis ēpi benedicti abbatis· Scī matth·le· cxlvii· Vigilate
quia nescitis· Usque sup omnia bona sua constituet eum·
·VII·kl AG Nt scē parasceues· dñs· Scī matth· le· cxl· dixit thr̄ dñs suis·
Simile ē regnū celorū thezauro· Usque nova et uetera·
·V· kl L AG Nt sci apollinaris epi· Scī luc̄·le· cc·lxx·
facta ē contentio mēdiscipl· usq; erubuit·
V·kl L AG Nt sci ramonis epi· Scī mārc· le· cc·lx· Lxxviii· Dixit thr̄ d ī parabolā hanc
homi dā pgre ppriū· usq; luxta in gaudiū dñi tui·
IIII·kl AG Nt scē· felicis simplicii faustini ebeatorū· Scī· le· cl·iii· Dixit thr̄ dñs suis
sine turbis uīs pcinct· Usquefilius hominis uenit·
III·kl AG Nt scōrum abdon et sennen· Scī ioh· le· cxxx viii· hoc est pceptū meū
MENS AG S kl AG S Iusque qui hodie mē grauī·
Nt scōrum machabeorū· Scī matth· ex·l·viii· Iuste dixit thr̄ discip suor
ascendere· innumeral· usq; uere filī dī ēr·
IIII·Ñ·AG S Nt sci pontifi stephani· Scī luc̄ le· cc·xxxiii· Dixit thr̄ d ī parabolā
hanc· homo quidā nobilis abiit· usque omnia habenti dabit· et abundabit·
VIII·ID·AG Nt scōrum ignatii felicissimi et agapiti· Scī m̄c· l·xxxvii· Dixit thr̄ dñs suis·
Ecce mecum sum· Usq; infinē hic salvus erit·
VI·ID Nt sci ramacri· Scī matth· le·xc·ii· Dixit thr̄ dñs suis
nolli opetum q̄rere uelle· usq; cū patre meo qui ē caelis
VIT Vigilia sci laurentii· Scī matth· le· clxx· Dixit thr̄ d ī
Si quis mihi post me uenire· Usque filiū hominis uenientē in rēg suo
IIII·ID Nt translō laurentii· ad primam missam· Scī matth· le·xxii·
Dixit thr̄ d suis· Qui amat patrē aut matrē· Usq; ēt mercēd ī
I rem eodem die· ad missam pulsati· Scī ioh· le· c·iii· Dixit thr̄ d sū

PLATE XXIII

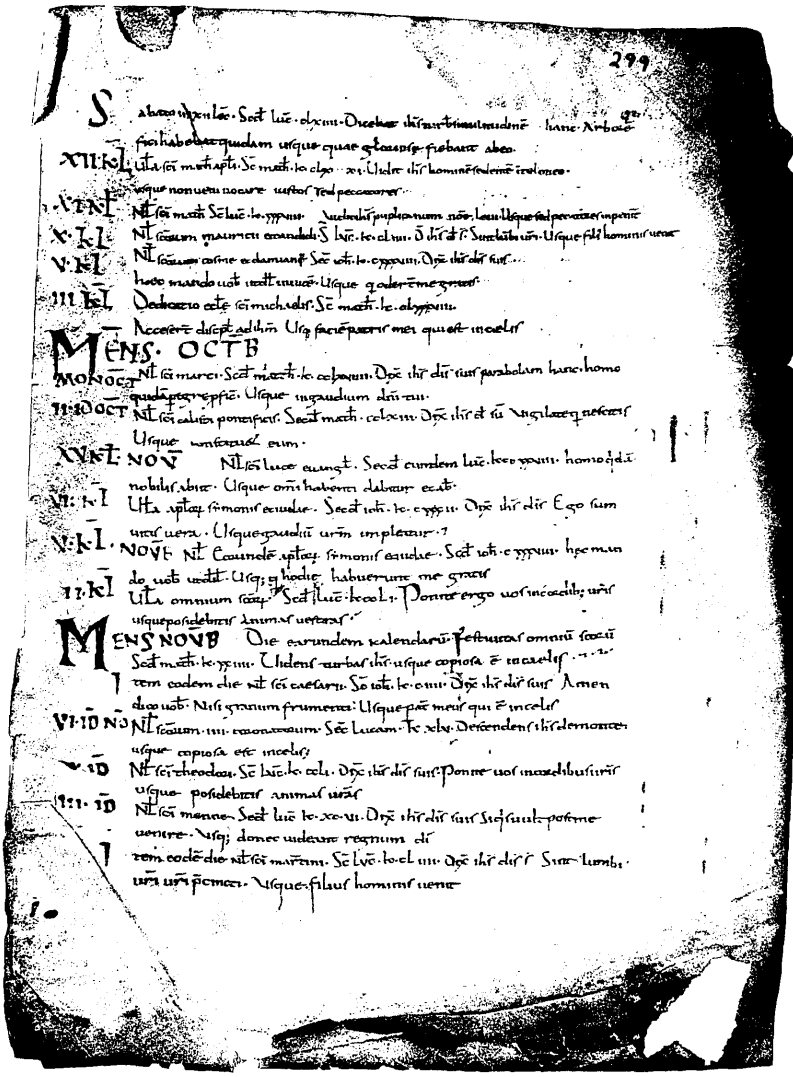




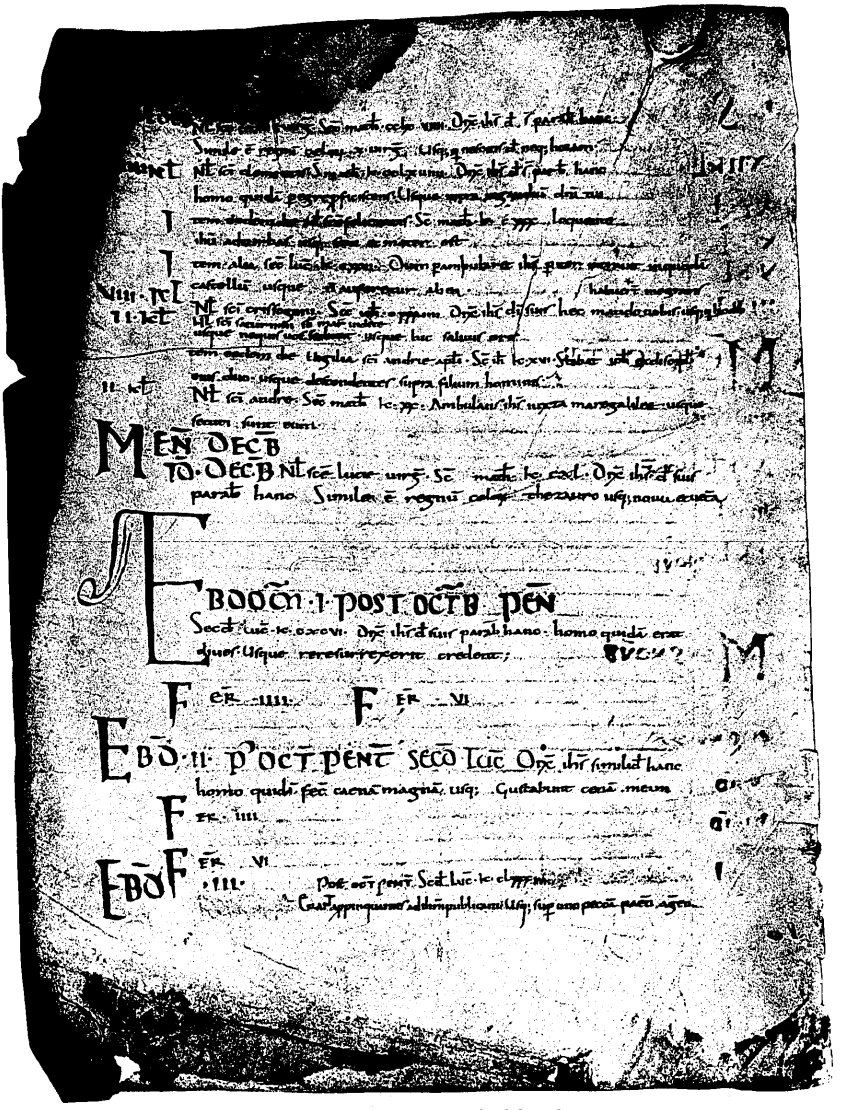
36. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 150r



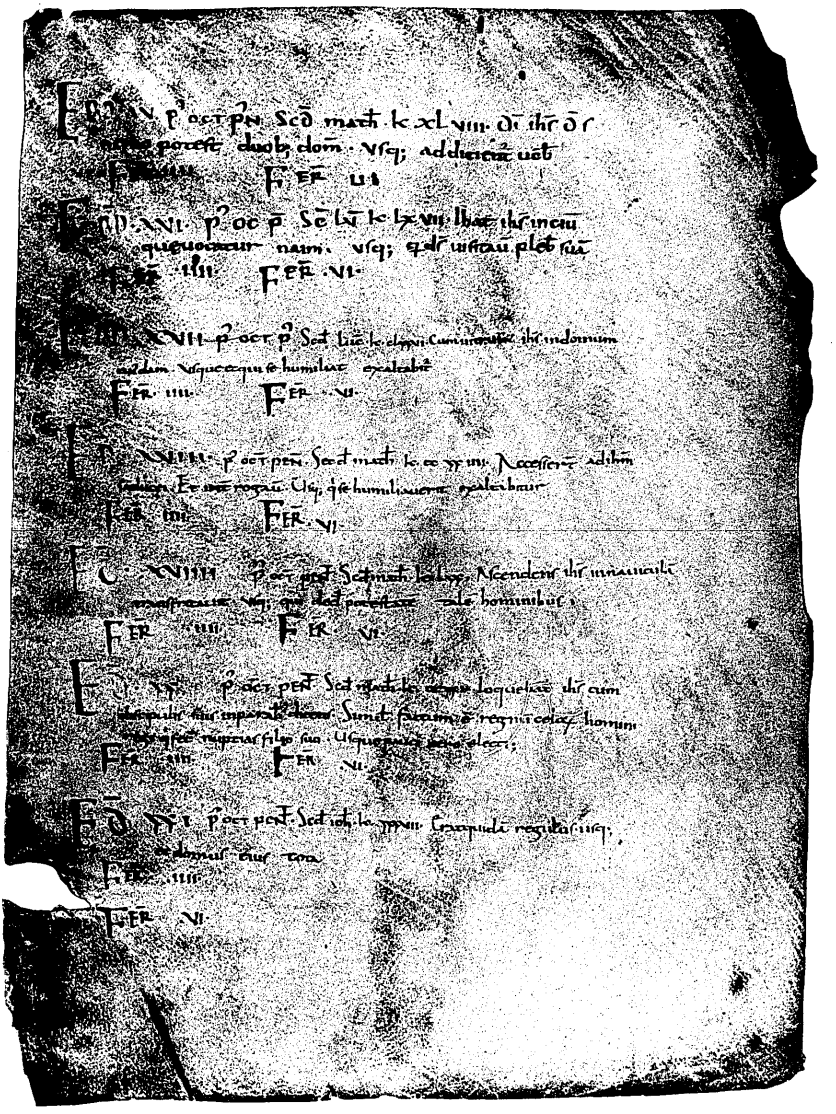
35. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 149v



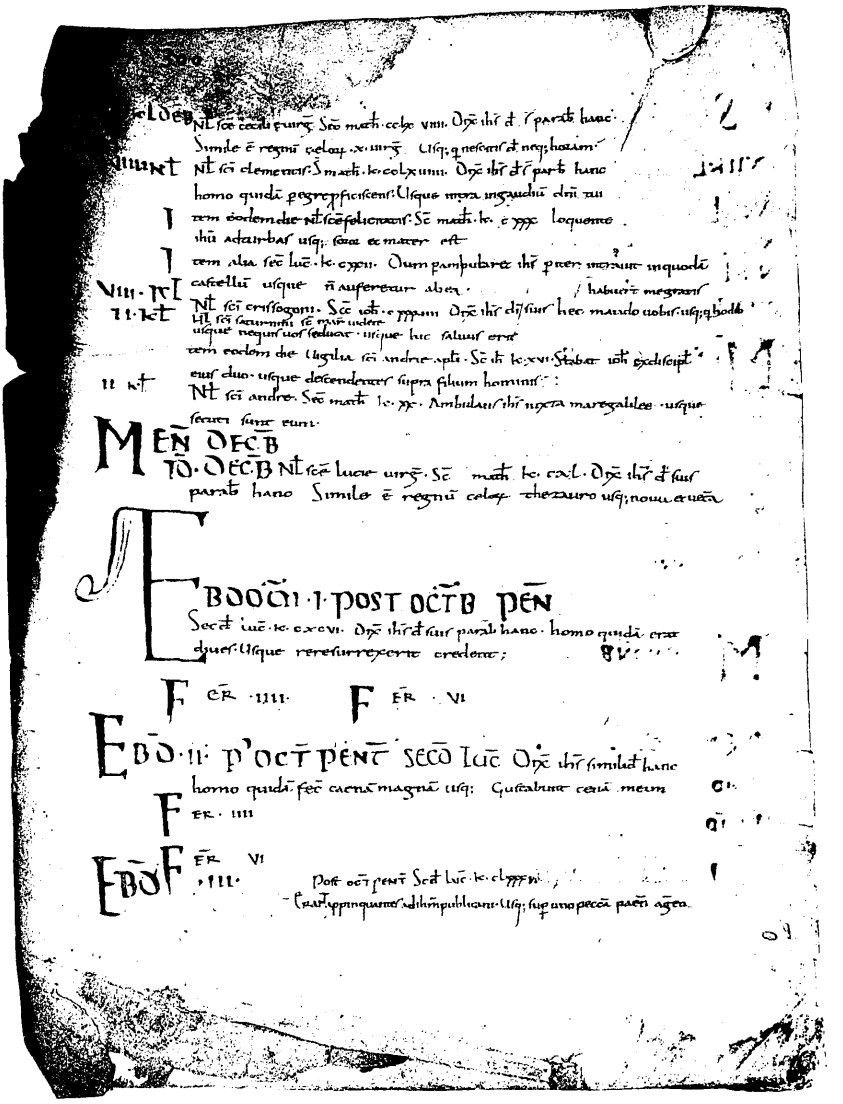
36. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 150r



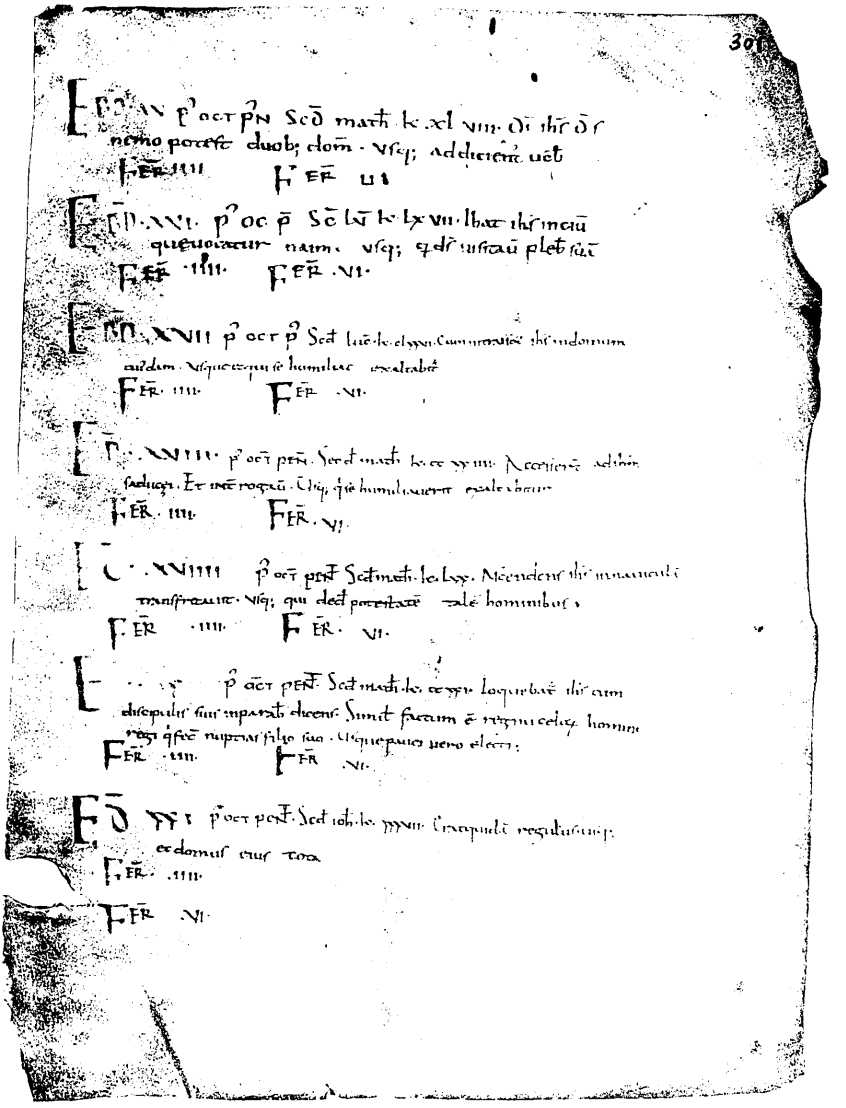
37. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 150v



38. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 151r

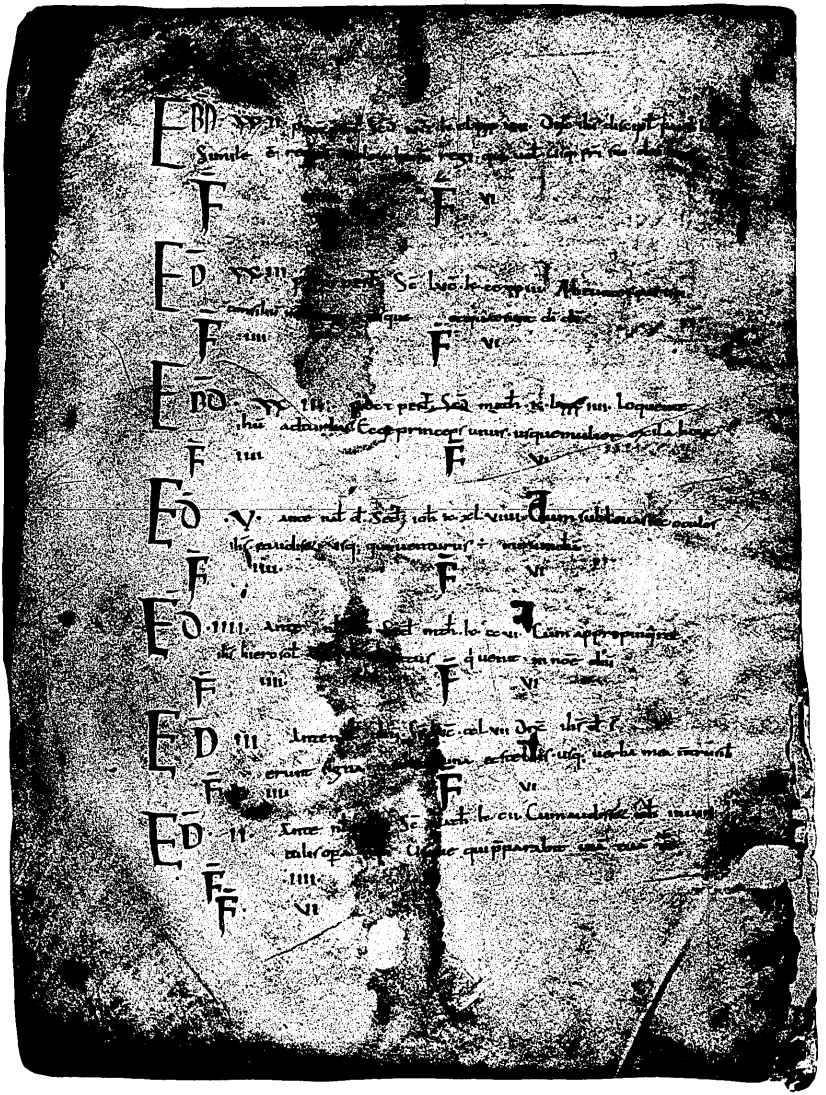


37. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 150v

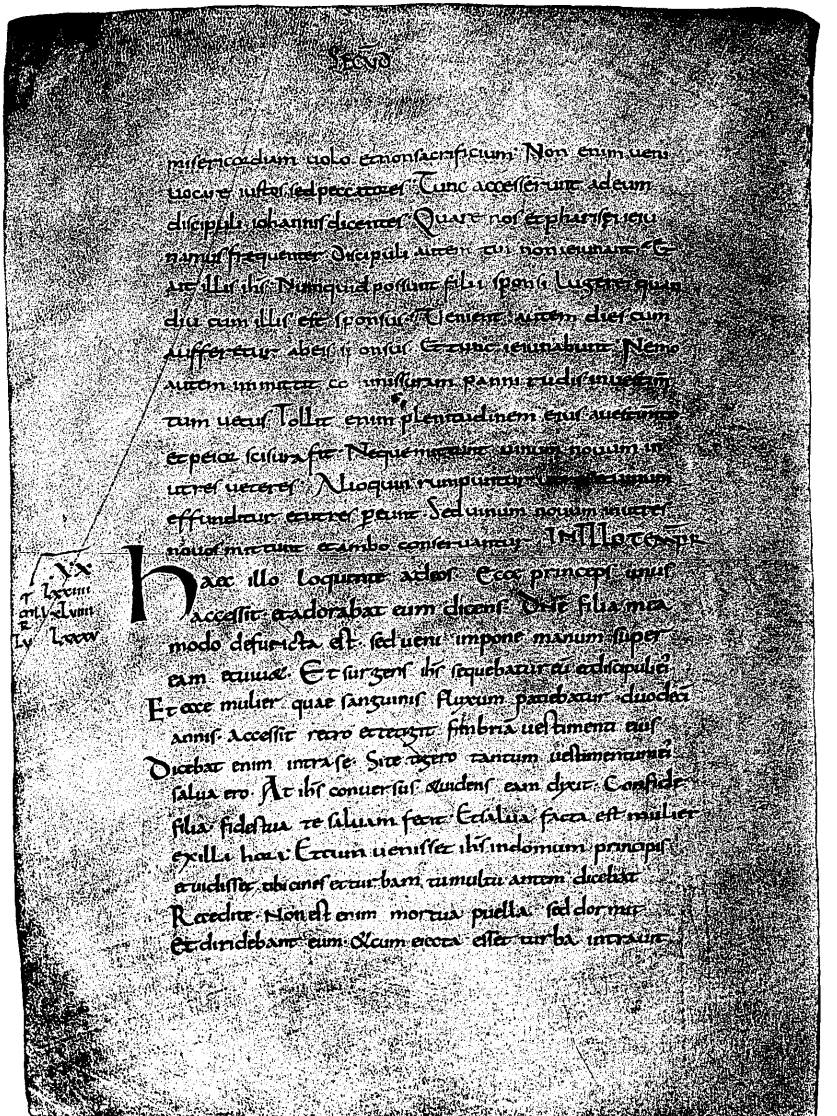


38. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 151r

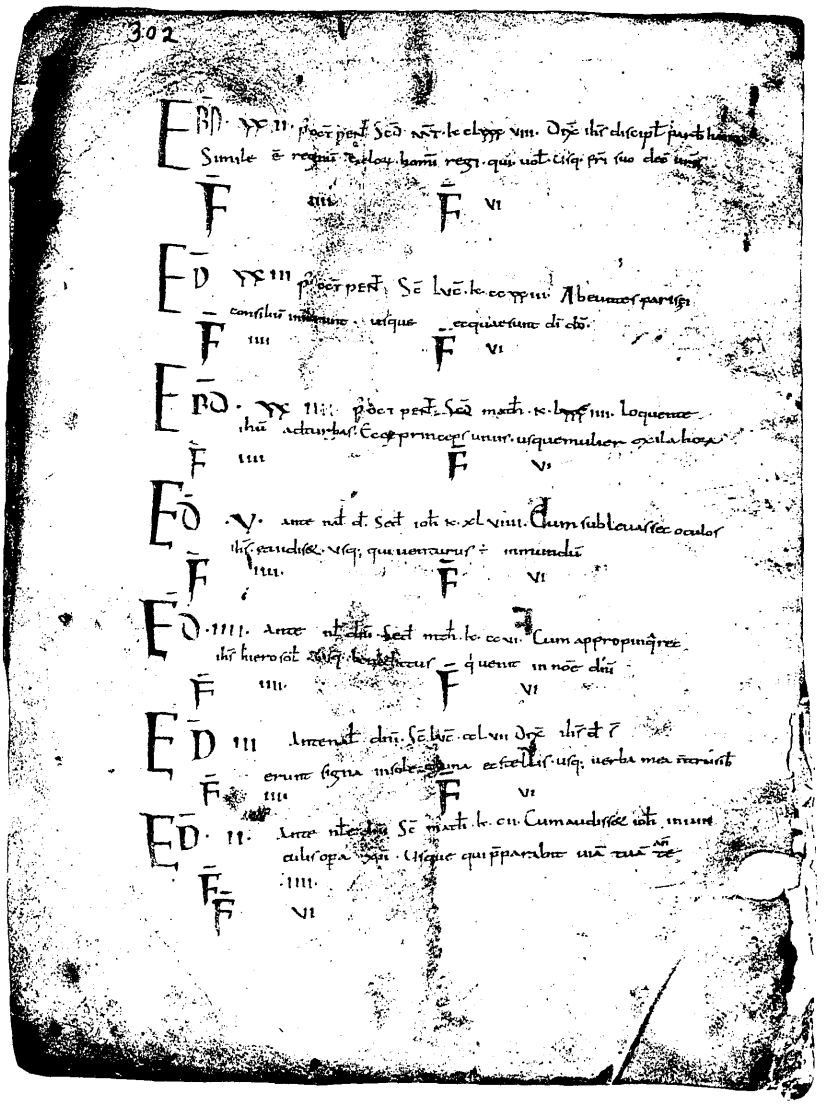
PLATE XXVII



39. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 151v



40. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 22v



39. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 151v

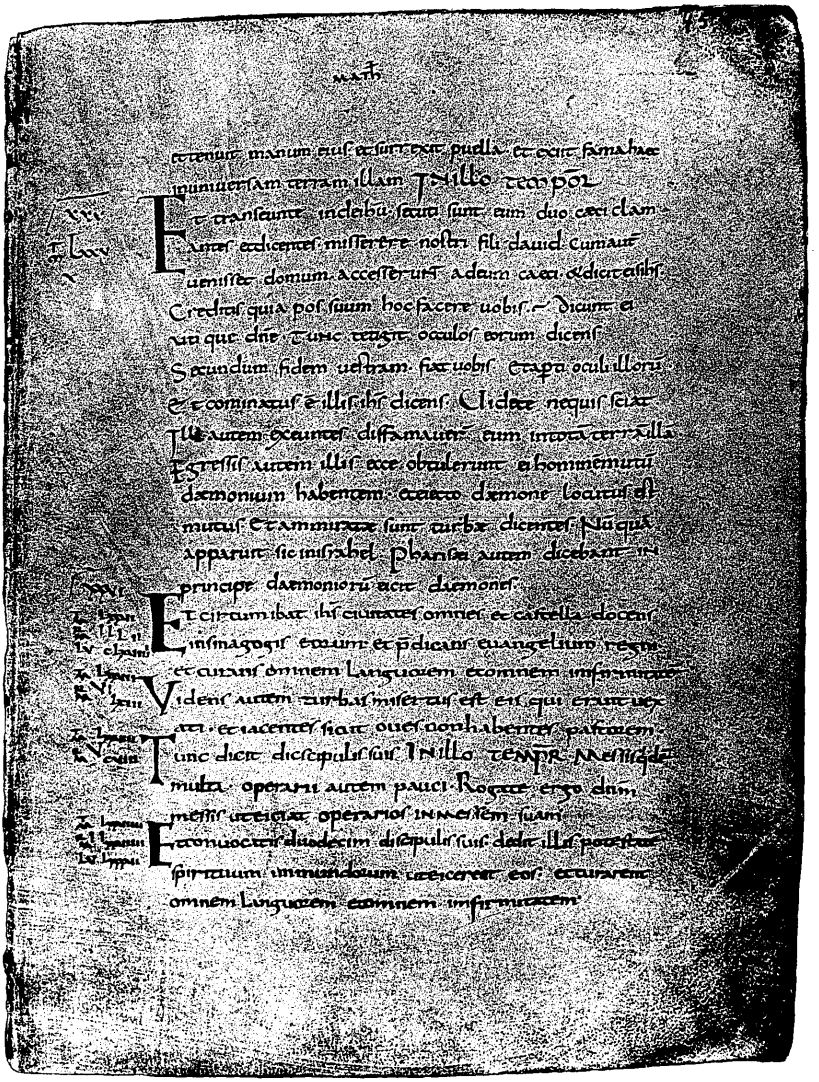
SECVD

misericordiam uolo et non sacrificium. Non enim ueni
uocare iustos sed peccatores. Tunc accesserunt ad eum
discipuli iohannis dicentes. Quare nos et pharisei ieiu
namus frequenter. Discipuli autem eius non ieiunant. Et
ait illis ihs. Numquid possunt filii sponsi lugere quan
diu cum illis est sponsus. Uenient autem dies cum
auferetur ab eis sponsus. Et tunc ieiunabunt. Nemo
autem inmittit commissuram panni rudis in uestimen
tum ueter. Tollit enim plenitudinem eius a uestimento.
et peior scissura fit. Neque mittunt uinum nouum in
utres ueteres. Alioquin rumpuntur utres et uinum
effundetur et utres pereunt. Sed uinum nouum mittes
nouos mittunt et ambo conseruantur. IN ILLO TEMPE-

V
Lectio
sci euuⁿ
℟ Lectio

Haec illo loquente ad eos. Ecce princeps unus
accessit et adorabat eum dicens. Dne filia mea
modo defuncta est. sed ueni impone manum super
eam et uiuet. Et surgens ihs sequebatur eum et discipuli eius.
Et ecce mulier quae sanguinis fluxum patiebatur duodeci
annis. Accessit retro et tetigit fimbriam uestimenti eius.
Dicebat enim intra se. Si tetigero tantum uestimentum eius
salua ero. At ihs conuersus et uidens eam dixit. Confide
filia. fides tua te saluam fecit. Et salua facta est mulier
ex illa hora. Et cum uenisset ihs in domum principis
et uidisset tibicines et turbam tumultuantem dicebat.
Recedite. Non est enim mortua puella sed dormit.
Et deridebant eum. Et cum ejecta esset turba intrauit

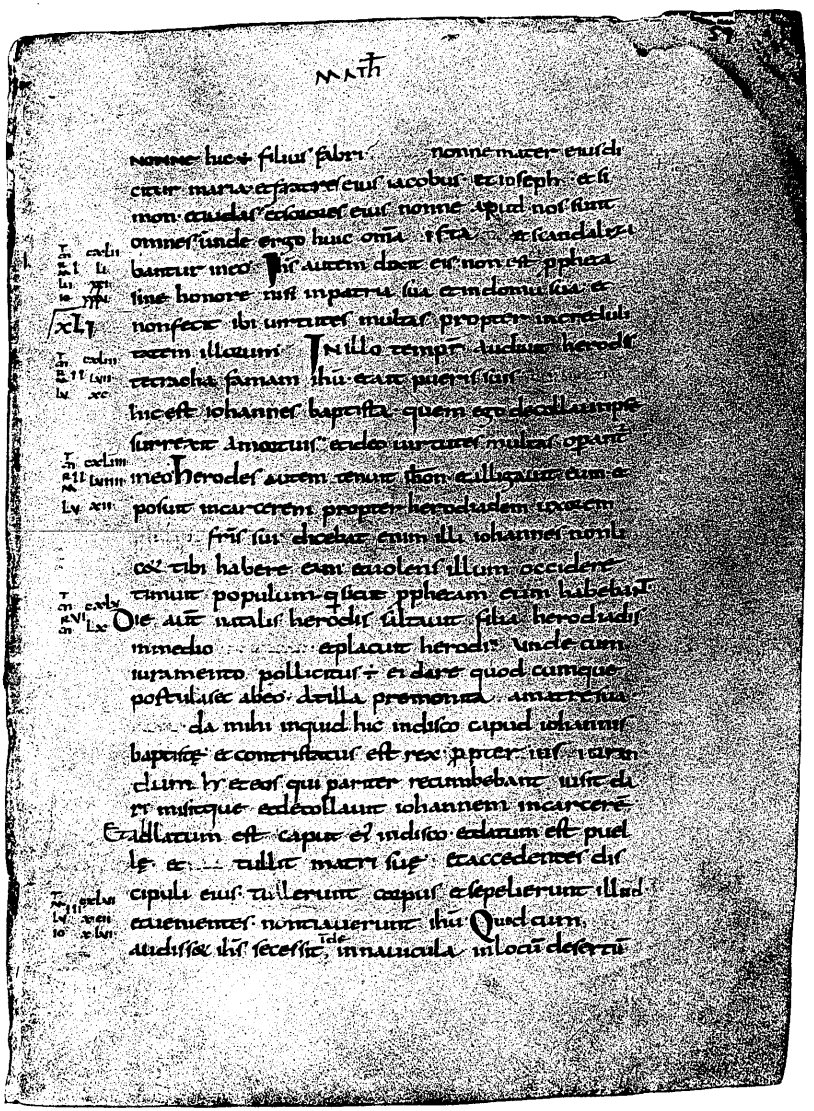
40. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 22v



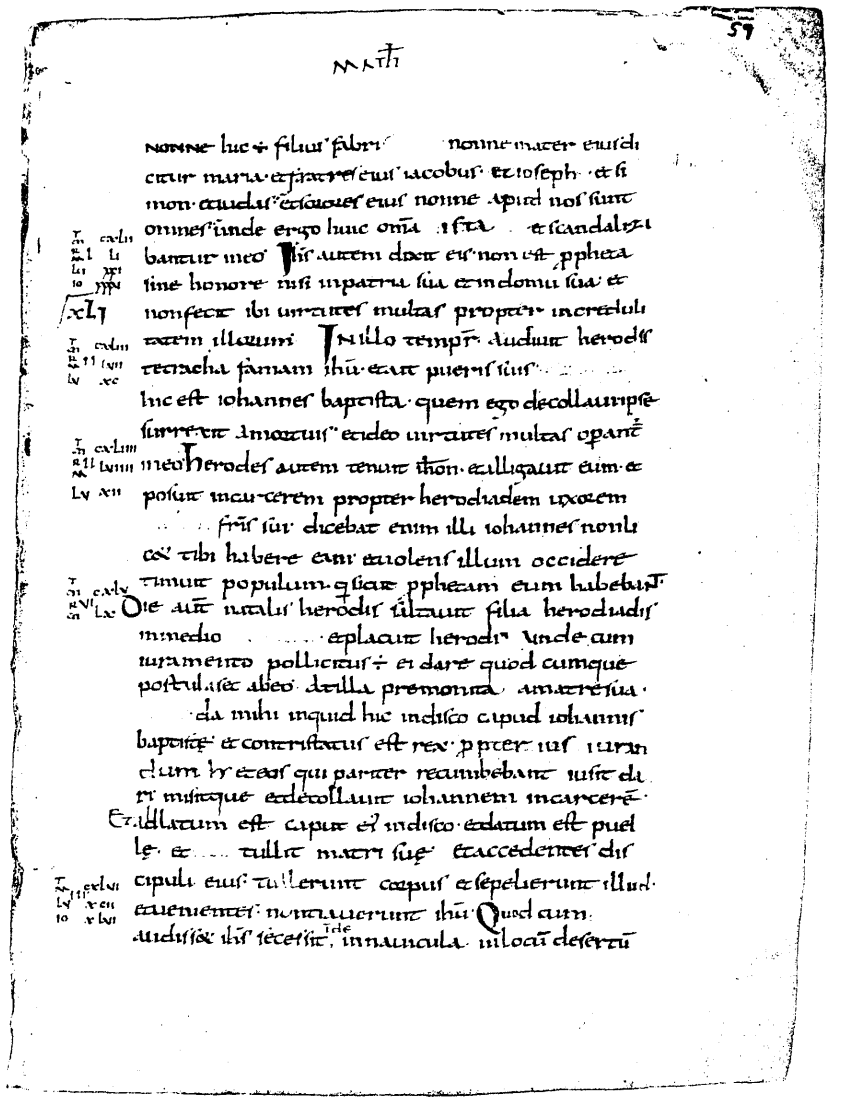
41. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 23r

ecrenuit manum eius & surrexit puella. et exiit fama haec
in universam terram illam. In illo tempore
XXV In Loco Et transeunte inde Ihū secuti sunt eum duo cæci clamantes et dicentes miserere nostri fili David. Cum autem
venisset domum accesserunt ad eum cæci. & dicit eis Ihs.
Creditis quia possum hoc facere vobis. Dicunt ei
utique dne. Tunc tetigit oculos eorum dicens
Secundum fidem vestram. fiat vobis. Et aperti sunt oculi illorum.
Et comminatus est illis Ihs dicens. Videte ne quis sciat.
Illi autem exeuntes diffamauerunt eum in tota terra illa.
Egressis autem illis ecce obtulerunt ei hominem mutum
daemonium habentem. Et ejecto daemone locutus est
mutus. Et admirate sunt turbæ dicentes. Nunquam
apparuit sic in Israhel. Pharisæi autem dicebant in
principe daemoniorum ejicit daemones.
VI In Lyppa In Ilia In Ivi Et circuibat Ihs ciuitates omnes et castella docens
in synagogis eorum. et prædicans euangelium regni.
et curans omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem.
In Lyppa In Vi Iem Videns autem turbas misertus est eis. quia erant vexati. et iacentes sicut oues non habentes pastorem.
In Lyppa In Vi Ecim Tunc dicit discipulis suis. In illo tempore. Messis quidem
multa. operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo dnm
messis ut eiciat operarios in messem suam
In Lyppa In Ei Ipsum In Lyppa Et conuocatis duodecim discipulis suis dedit illis potestatem
spirituum immundorum ut eicerent eos. et curarent
omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem.

41. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 23r



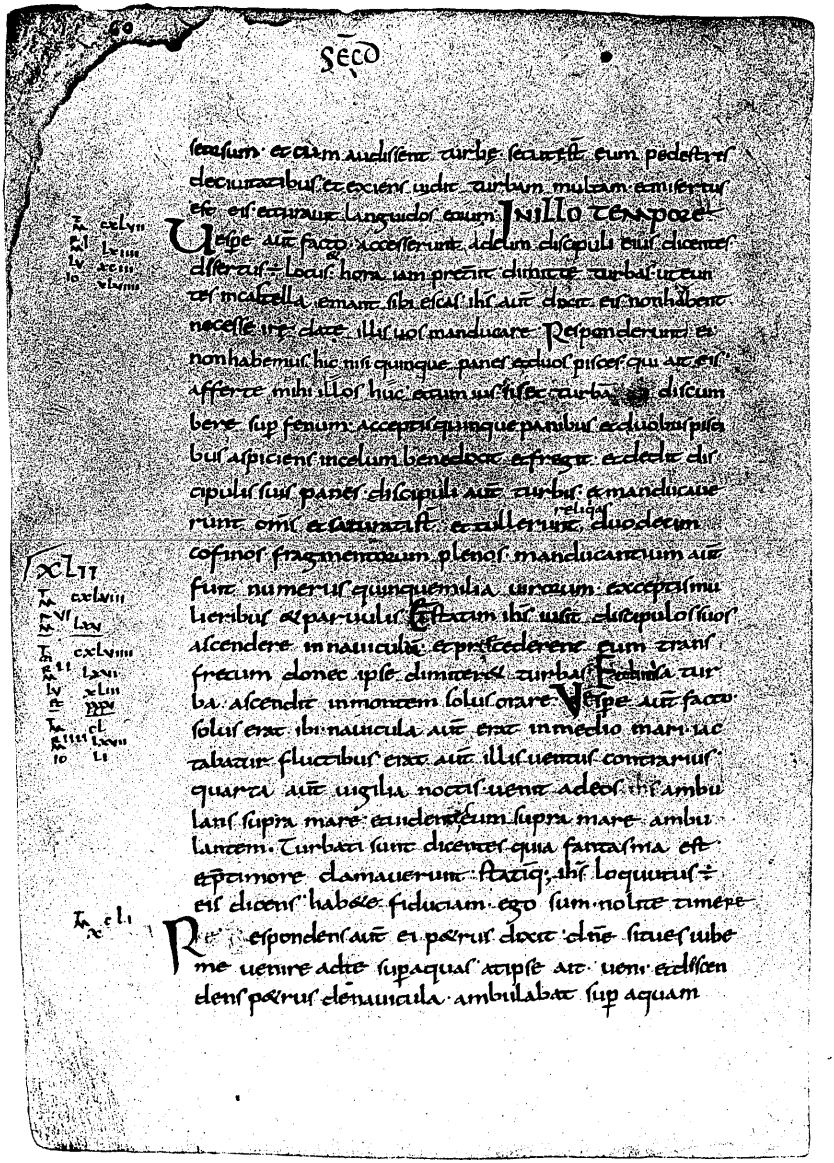
42. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 30r



MATH

59

nomine huc ÷ filiuſ fabri nomine mater eiuſdi
citur maria et fratres eius iacobus et ioſeph et ſi
mon et iudas et ſorores eius nonne omnes apud nos ſunt
omnes unde ergo huic omnia iſta et ſcandalizaꝫ
bantur in eo Non eſt autem propheta
ſine honore niſi in patria ſua et in domu ſua et
non fecit ibi uirtutes multas propter incredulitatem
illorum In illo tempore audiuit herodes
tetrarcha famam ihu et ait pueris ſuis
hic eſt iohannes baptiſta quem ego decollaui ipſe
ſurrexit a mortuis et ideo uirtutes operantur
in eo Herodes autem tenuit ioh et alligauit eum et
poſuit eum in carcere propter herodiadem uxorem
fratris ſui dicebat enim illi iohannes non li
cet tibi habere eam et uolens illum occidere
timuit populum quia pphetam eum habebant
Die autem natalis herodis ſaltauit filia herodiadis
in medio et placuit herodi unde cum
iuramento pollicitus ÷ et dare quod cumque
poſtulaſſet ab eo dixit illa premonita a matre ſua
da mihi inquit hic in diſco caput iohannis
baptiſtæ et contriſtatus eſt rex propter iura
mentum et eos qui parter recumbebant iuſſit da
ri et miſitque et decollauit iohannem in carcere
Et allatum eſt caput eius in diſco et datum eſt puel
le et tulit matri ſue et accedentes diſ
cipuli eius tulerunt corpus et ſepelierunt illud
et uenientes nunciauerunt ihu Quod cum
audiſſet diſceſſit inde in nauicula in locum deſertum



SED

lecatum. et alam audisse turbe. fecerunt eum pedester
decurrebat. et exierunt ibi turbam multam. et misertus
est eis. et curauit languidos eorum. In illo tempore
Vespe aut facto. accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius dicentes
disserat. Locus hic. et iam pretrit dimitte turbas. ut eun
tes in castella emant sibi escas. ihs aut dixit eis. non habent
necesse ite. date illis uos manducare. Responderunt ei
non habemus hic nisi quinque panes. et duos pisces. qui ait eis
afferte mihi illos huc. et cum iussisset turbas discum
bere sup fenum. accepit quinque panibus. et duobus pisci
bus. aspiciens in celum benedixit. et fregit. et dedit di
scipulis suis panes. discipuli aut turbis. et manducaue
runt omes. et saturati sunt. et sublatum est. quod dereli
runt. duodecim
cofinos fragmentorum plenos. manducantium aut
fuit numerus quinquemilia. uirorum. exceptis mu
lieribus et parvulis. Statim ihs uolt discipulos suos
ascendere in nauiculam. et precedere eum trans
fretum donec ipse dimitteret turbas. Et cum dimisisset
turbas ascendit in montem solus orare. Vespe aut facto
solus erat ibi. nauicula aut erat in medio mari iac
tabatur fluctibus erat enim ventus contrarius.
quarta aut uigilia noctis uenit ad eos ihs ambu
lans supra mare. et uidentes eum supra mare ambu
lantem. turbati sunt dicentes quia fantasma est.
et pre timore clamauerunt. statimq; ihs loquutus est
eis dicens. habete fiduciam. ego sum. nolite timere.
Respondens aut ei petrus dixit. dne si tu es
me uenire ad te supra aquas. at ipse ait. ueni. et descen
dens petrus de nauicula ambulabat sup aquam

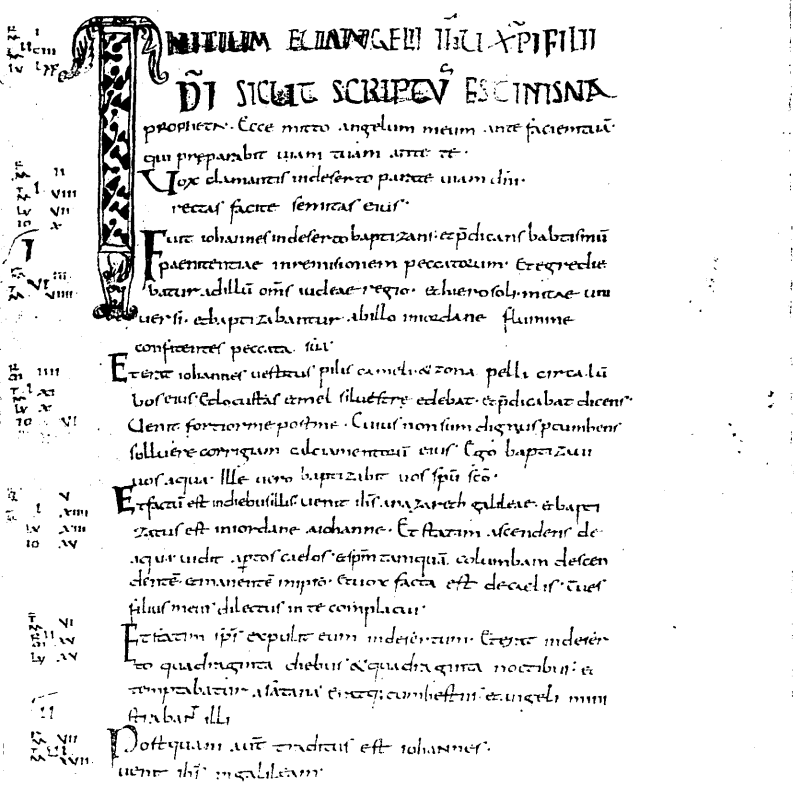
43. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 30v

INITIVM EVANGELII IHV XPI FILII
DEI SICVT SCRIPTVM EST IN ISAIA
prophetа. Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuã
qui preparabit uiam tuam ante te.
Vox clamantis in deserto parate uiam dñi.
rectas facite semitas eius.
Fuit iohannes in deserto baptizans et predicans baptismũ
penitentiae in remissionem peccatorum. Et egrediebatur ad illum omnis iudeae regio. et hierosolymitae uniuersi. et baptizabantur ab illo in iordane flumine
confitentes peccata sua.
Et erat iohannes uestitus pilis camelorum et zona pellicia circa lumbos eius. et locustas et mel siluestre edebat. et predicabat dicens.
Venit fortior me post me. Cuius non sum dignus procumbens
soluere corrigiam calceamenti eius. Ego baptizaui
uos aqua. Ille uero baptizabit uos spũ sco.
Et factum est in diebus illis uenit ihs a nazareth galilee. et baptizatus est in iordane a iohanne. Et statim ascendens de
aqua uidit apertos caelos. et spm tanquã columbam descendentem et manentem in eo. Et uox facta est de caelis. Tu es
filius meus dilectus in te complacui.
Et statim sps expulit eum in desertum. Et erat in deserto quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus. et
temptabatur a satana. et erat cum bestiis. et angeli min
istrabant illi.
Postquam autem traditus est iohannes.
uenit ihs in galilaeam.

44. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 52r

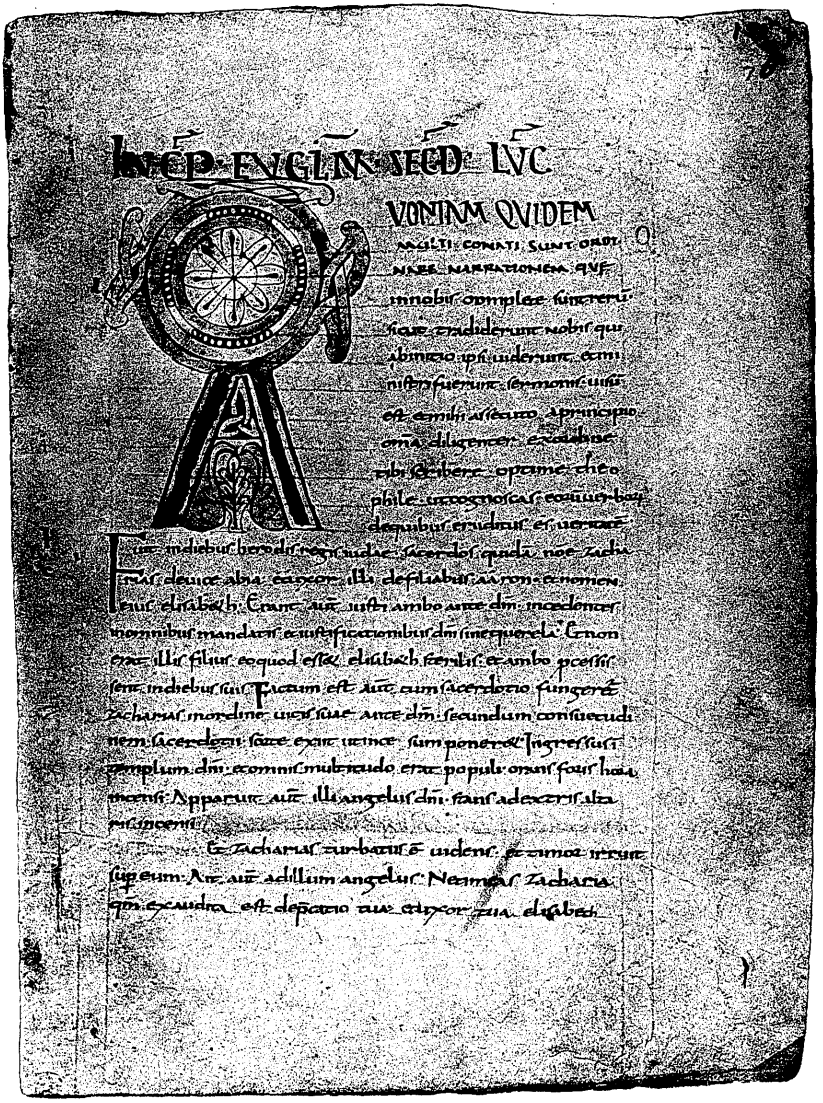
SECŌ

secessum · et cum audissent turbe secutē sunt eum pedestres
de ciuitatibus · et exciens vidit turbam multam · et misertus
est eis · et curauit languidos eorum In illo tempore
Uespere autē facto · accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius dicentes
desertus ē locus · hora iam prēterit · dimitte turbas · ut euntes
in castella emant sibi escas · ihs autē dixit eis · non habent
necesse ire · date illis uos manducare · Responderunt ei ·
non habemus hic nisi quinque panes · et duos pisces · qui ait · eis ·
afferte mihi illos hūc · et cum uidisset turbā discum
bere sup fenum · accepit quinque panibus · et duobus pisci
bus · aspiciens in celum benedixit · et fregit · et dedit dis
cipulis suis panes · discipuli autē turbis · et manducaue
runt oēs · et saturati sunt · et tulerunt reliqas duodecim
cofinos fragmentorum plenos · manducantium autē
fuit numerus quinquemilia uirorum · exceptis mu
lieribus et paruulis Statim ihs iussit discipulos suos
ascendere in naticulā · et precedere eum trans
fretum donec ipse dimitteret turbas · Et dimissa tur
ba · ascendit in montem solus orare · Uespere autē facto ·
solus erat ibi · naticula autē erat in medio mari · ue
xabatur fluctibus · erat autē illis uentus contrarius ·
quarta autē uigilia noctis · uenit ad eos ambu
lans sup mare · et uidentes eum sup mare ambu
lantem · turbati sunt dicentes quia fantasma est ·
et pre timore clamauerunt · Statimq; ihs loquitur eis ·
et dicit · habete fiduciam · ego sum · nolite timere ·
Respondens autē ei petrus dixit · dne · si tu es · iube
me uenire ad te sup aquas · at ipse ait · uenit · descendens
autem petrus de nauicula · ambulabat sup aquam

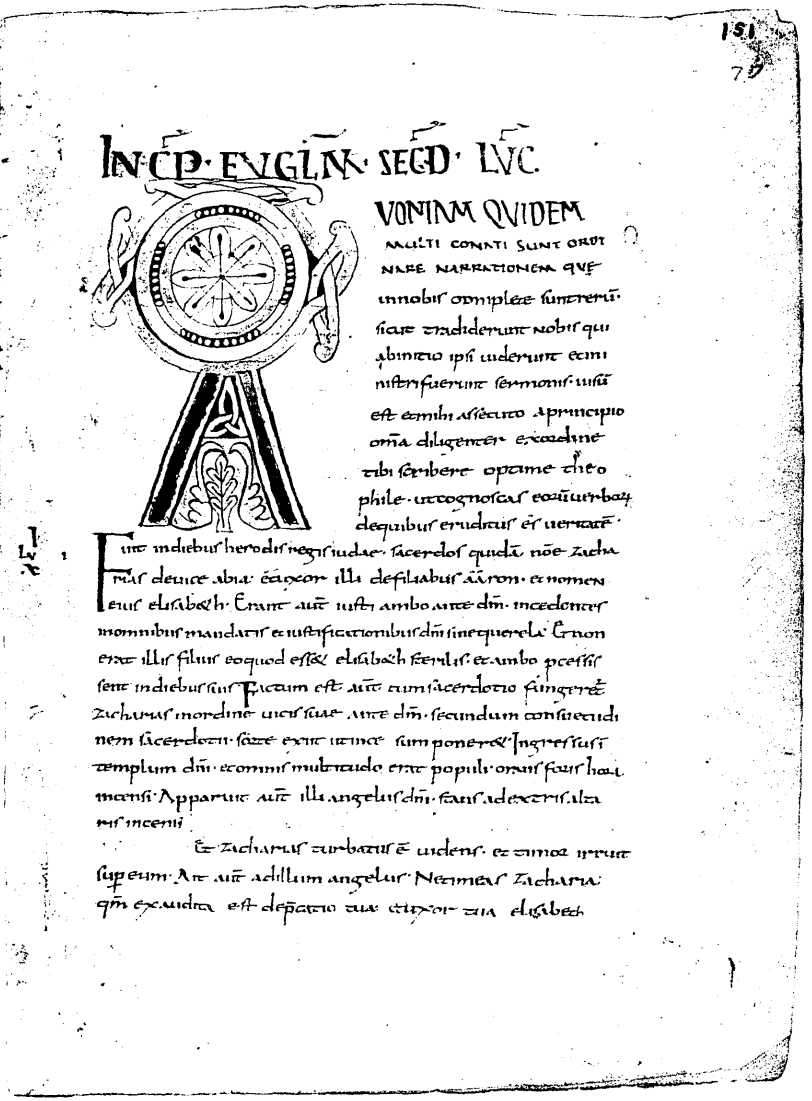


INITIUM EUANGELII IHU XPI FILII
DI SICUT SCRIPTUM EST IN ISAIA
prophetis. Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuā
qui preparabit uiam tuam ante te.
Vox clamantis in deserto parate uiam dñi.
rectas facite semitas eius.
Fuit iohannes in deserto baptizans et predicans baptismū
penitentie in remissionem peccatorum. Et egrediebatur
ad illū omnis iudee regio. et hierosolymite uni-
uersi. et baptizabantur ab illo in iordane flumine
confitentes peccata sua.
Et erat iohannes uestitus pilis camelorum et zona pellicea circa lū
bos eius et locustas et mel siluestre edebat. et predicabat dicens.
Uenit fortior me post me. Cuius non sum dignus procumbens
soluere corrigiam calciamenti eius. Ego baptizaui
uos aqua. Ille uero baptizabit uos spū sco.
Et factum est in diebus illis uenit ihs a nazareth galilee. et bapti
zatus est in iordane a iohanne. Et statim ascendens de
aqua uidit apertos celos. et spm tanquā columbam descen
dentē et manentē in ipō. Et uox facta est de celis. Tu es
filius meus dilectus in te complacui.
Et statim sps expulit eum in desertum. Et erat in deser
to quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus. et
tentabatur a satana. et erat cum bestiis. et angeli mini
strabant illi.
Postquam aut traditus est iohannes.
uenit ihs in galileam.

44. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 52r



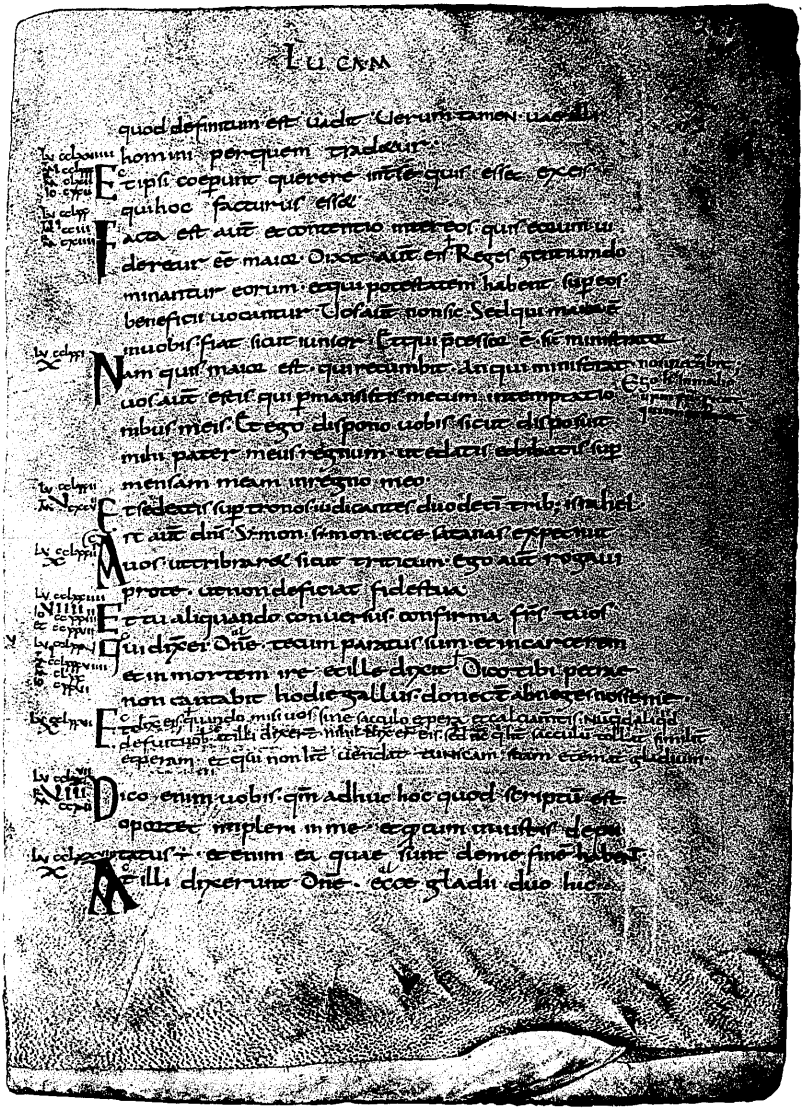
45. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 76r



INCP EVGLIN SEC D LVC

VONIAM QVIDEM
MVLTI CONATI SVNT ORDI
NARE NARRATIONEM QVE
in nobis completa sunt rerū
sicut tradiderunt nobis qui
ab initio ipsi viderunt et mi
nistri fuerunt sermonis visū
est et mihi assecuto a principio
oīa diligenter exacte ordine
tibi scribere optime theo
phile ut cognoscas eorū in quibus
eruditus es uerita
Fuit in diebus herodis regis iudee sacerdos quidā nōe Zacha
rias de vice abia et uxor illi de filiabus aaron et nomen
eius elisabeth Erant aut iusti ambo ante dm incedentes
in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus dni sine querela Et non
erat illis filius eo quod esset elisabeth sterilis et ambo prouec
ti erant in diebus suis Factum est aut cum sacerdotio fungeret
Zacharias in ordine vicis sue ante dm secundum consuetudi
nem sacerdotii sorte exiit ut incensum ponens ingressus
templum dni et omnis multitudo erat populi orans foris hora
incensi Apparuit aut illi angelus dni stans a dextris altaris
incensi
Et Zacharias turbatus est uidens et timor irruit
super eum Ait aut ad illum angelus Ne timeas Zacharia
quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua et uxor tua elisabeth

45. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 76r

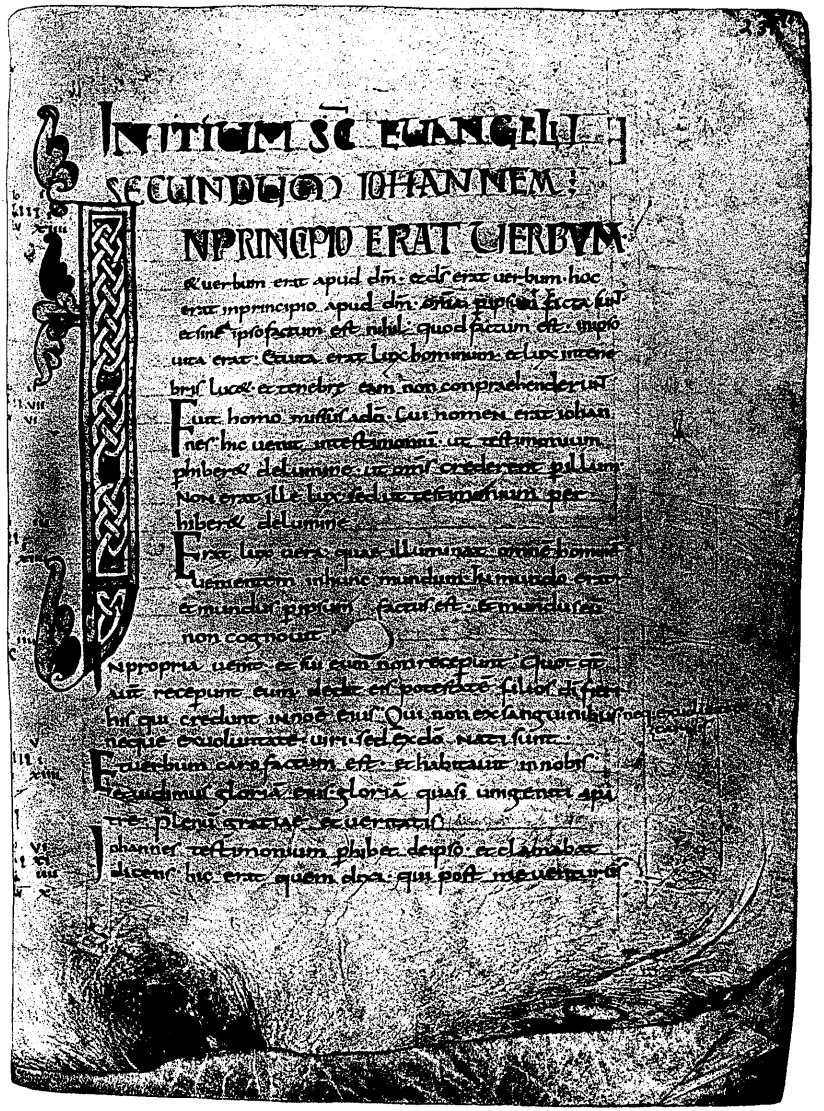


46. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 109r

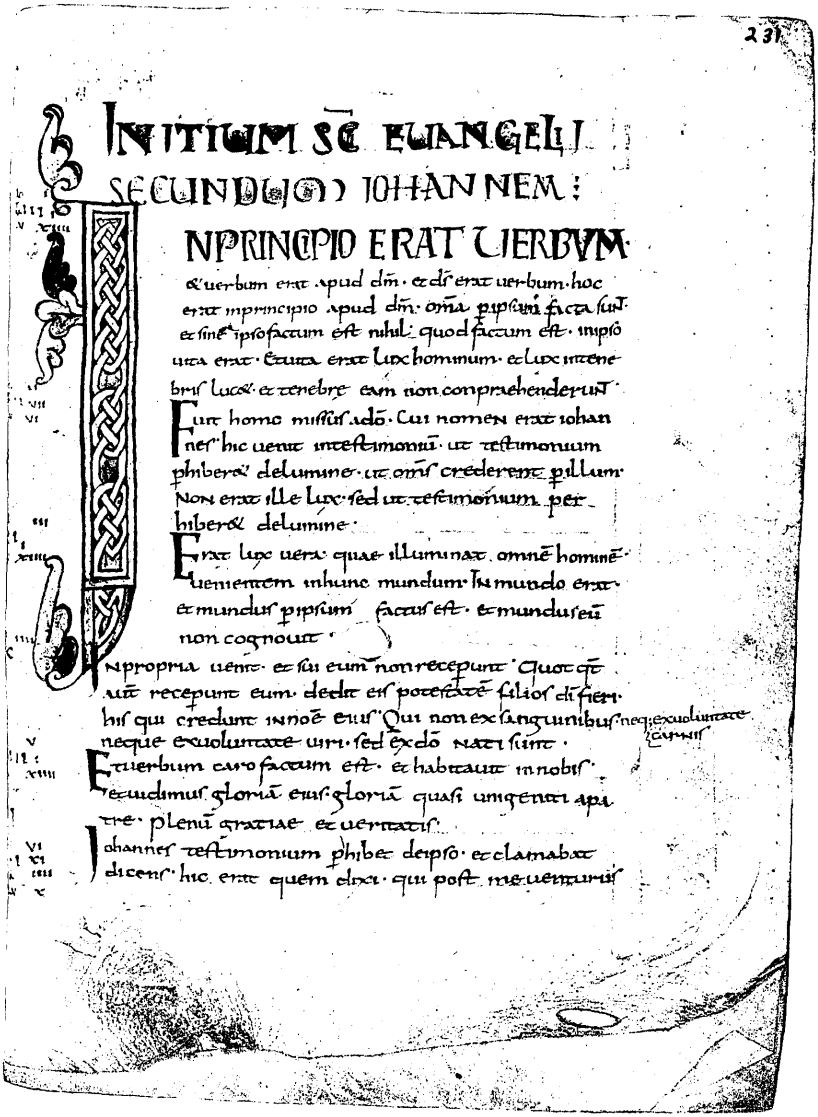
LUCAM

quod definitum est uadit. Uerum tamen uae illi
homini perquem tradetur.
Et ipsi coepunt querere inter se quis esset ex eis
qui hoc facturus esset.
Facta est autem et contentio inter eos quis eorum u
deretur esse maior. Dixit autem eis Reges gentium do
minantur eorum. et qui potestatem habent super eos
benefici uocantur. Uos autem non sic. Sed qui maior e
in uobis fiat sicut iunior. Et qui praecessor e sicut minister.
Nam quis maior est. qui recumbit. an qui ministrat. nonne qui recumbit;
uos autem estis qui permansistis mecum in temptatio Ego dispono
nibus meis. Et ego dispono uobis sicut disposuit quam pueri
mihi pater meus regnum. ut edatis et bibatis super quis ministretur.
mensam meam in regno meo.
Et sedeatis super thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus israhel.
Dixit autem dns Simon Simon ecce sathanas expetiuit
uos ut uentilaret sicut triticum. Ego autem rogaui
pro te. ut non deficiat fides tua.
Et tu aliquando conuersus confirma fres tuos.
Qui dixit dne. ad te paratus sum et in carcerem
et in mortem ire. Ille autem dixit Dico tibi petre
non cantabit hodie gallus donec ter abnegaris nosse me.
Et dixit eis quando misi uos sine sacculo et pera et calciamentis numquid deest uobis
At illi dixerunt nihil. dixit ergo eis sed nunc qui habet sacculum tollat similiter
et peram. et qui non habet uendat tunicam suam et emat gladium.
Dico enim uobis quoniam adhuc hoc quod scriptum est
oportet implere in me. Et cum iniustis deputatus. et enim ea quae sunt de me finem habent.
At illi dixerunt dne. ecce gladii duo hic.

46. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 109r



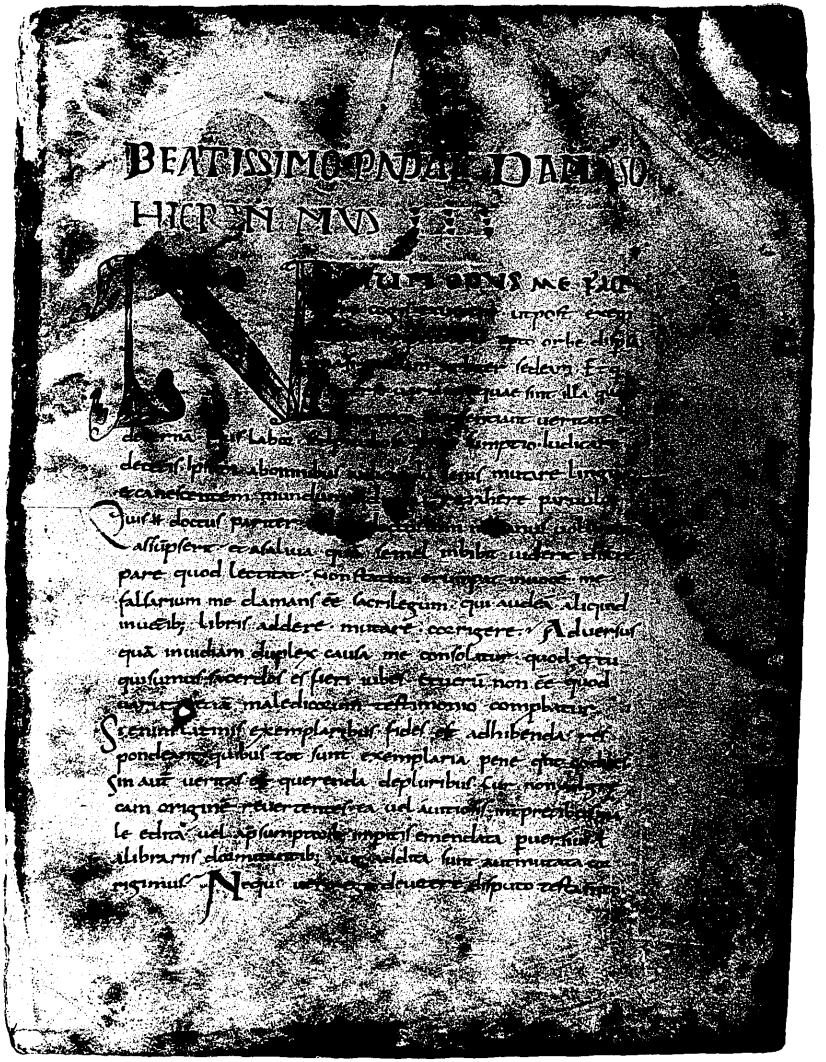
47. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 116r



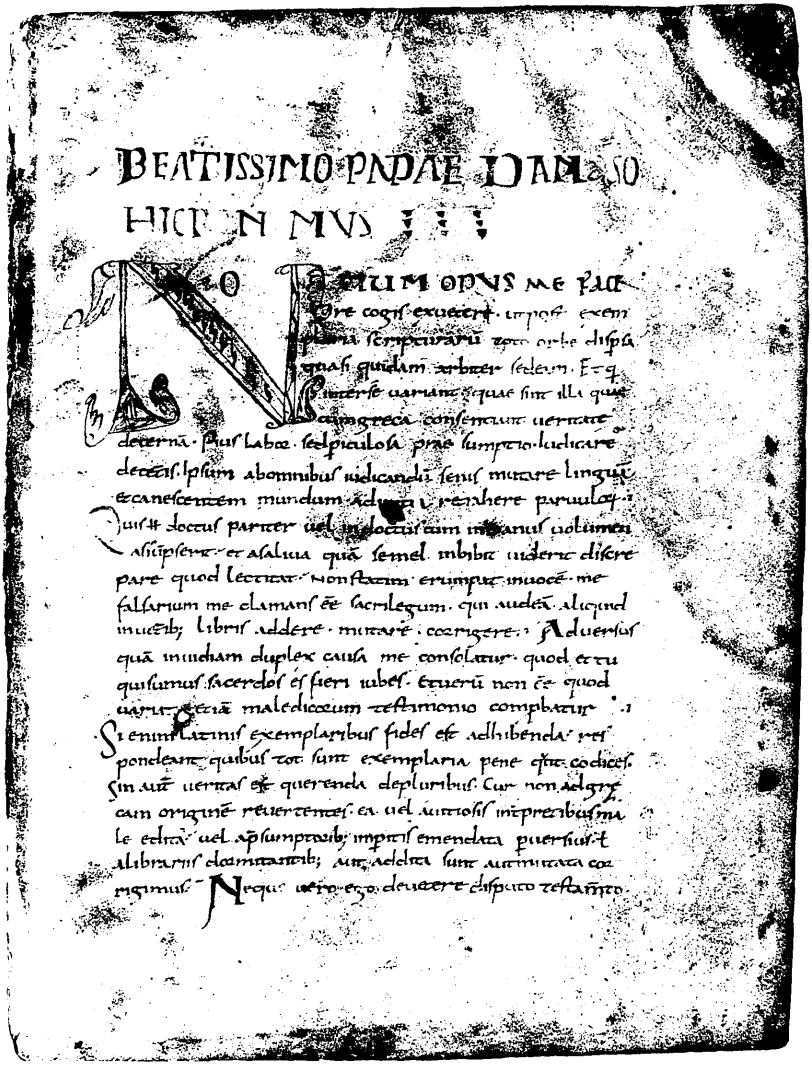
INITIUM SC EUANGELII
SECUNDUM IOHANNEM:

NPRINCIPIO ERAT UERBUM
& uerbum erat apud dm. & ds erat uerbum hoc
erat inprincipio apud dm. oīa ipsum facta sunt
& sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est. inipso
uita erat. & uita erat lux hominum. & lux intene
bris lucet. & tenebre eam non comprehenderunt.
Fuit homo missus adō. Cui nomen erat iohan
nes. hic uenit intestimoniū. ut testimonium
phiberet delumine. ut oīs crederent pillum.
Non erat ille lux. sed ut testimonium per
hiberet delumine.
Erat lux uera. quae illuminat omnē hominē.
Uenientem inhunc mundum. In mundo erat.
& mundus ipsum facta est. & mundus eū
non cognouit.
Npropria uenit. & sui eum non recepunt. Quot qt
uō recepunt eum. dedit eis potestatē filios dī fieri.
his qui credunt innoīe eius. Qui non ex sanguinibus neq; exuoluntate
neque exuoluntate uiri. sed ex dō nati sunt.
Et uerbum caro factum est. & habitauit innobis.
& uidimus gloriā eius. gloriā quasi unigeniti apa
tre. plenū gratiae & ueritatis.
Iohannes testimonium phibet deipso. & clamabat
dicens. hic erat quem dixi. qui post me uenturus

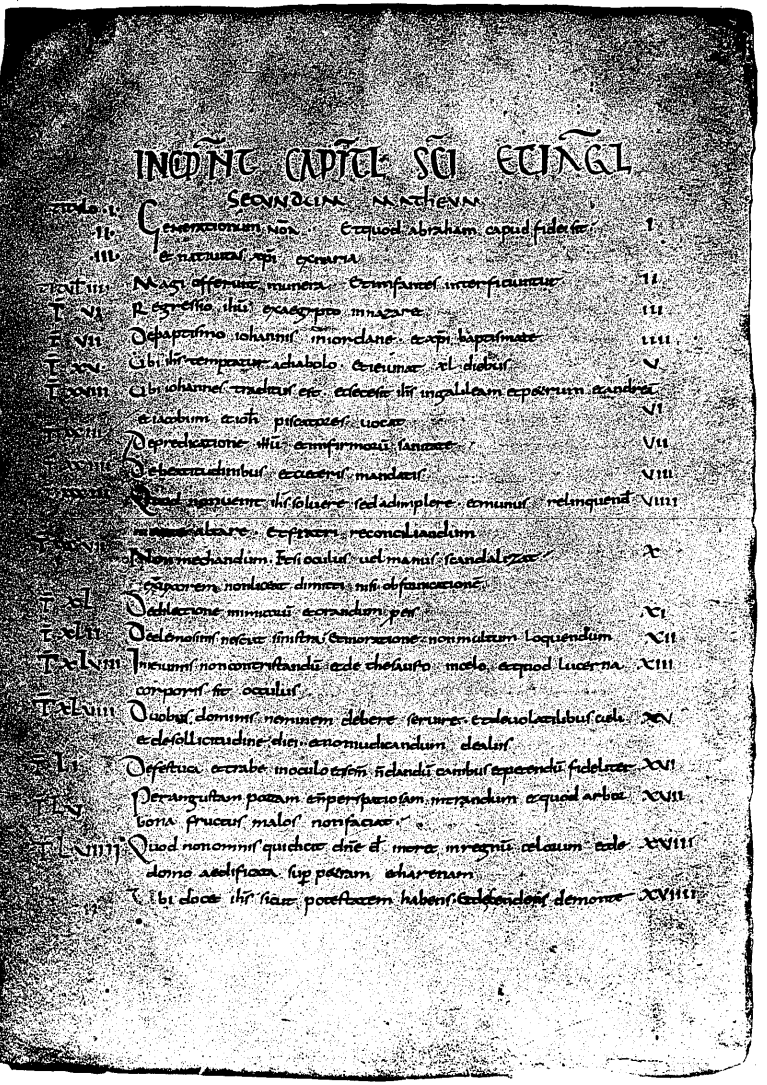
47. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 116r



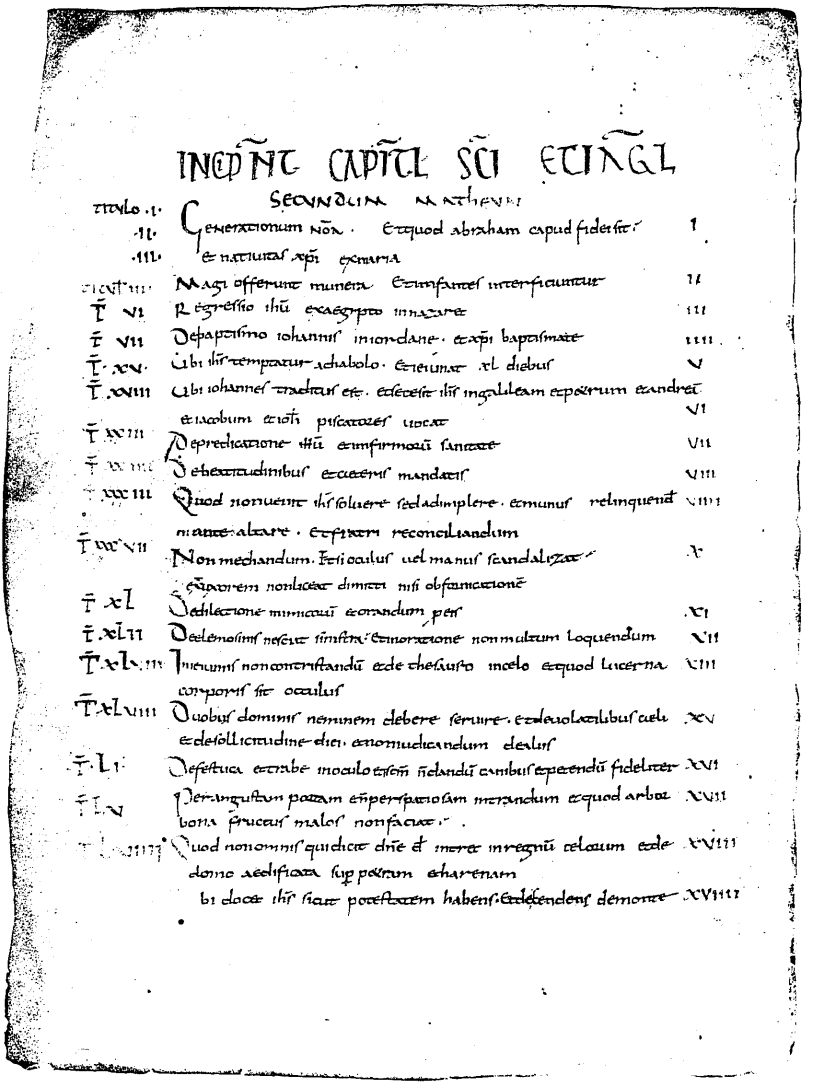
48. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 1r



48. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 1r



49. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 5v

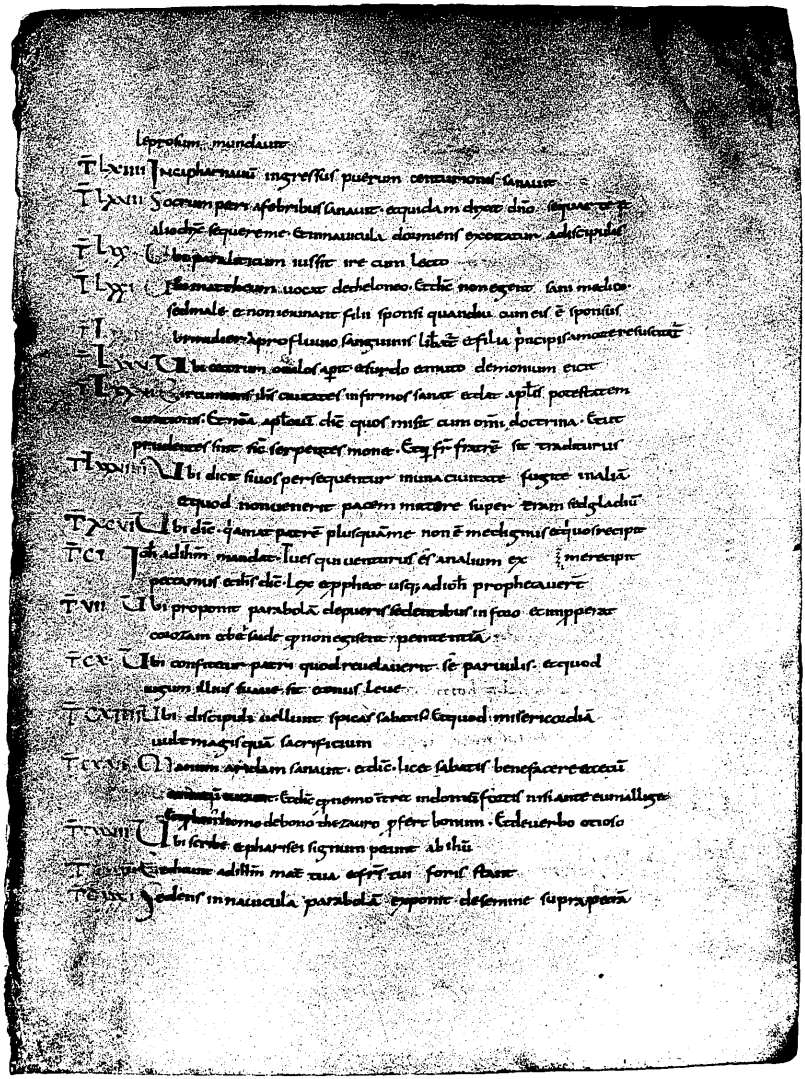


INCIPIT CAPITULA SCI EVANGELII

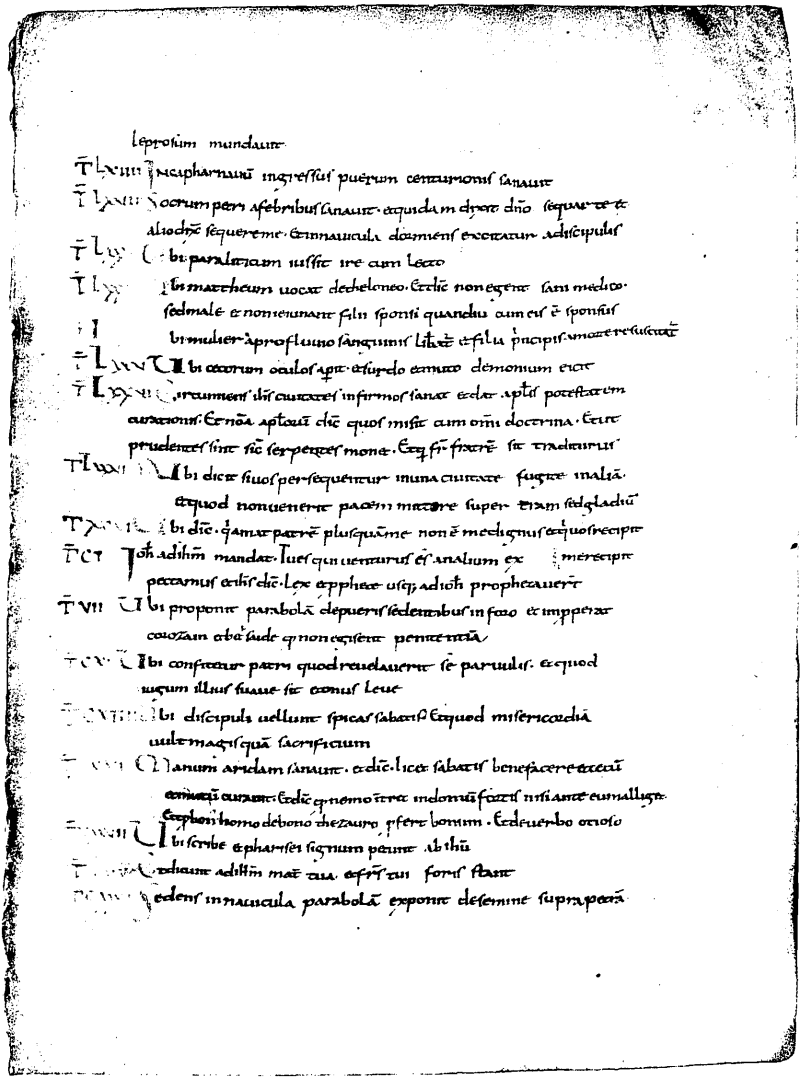
SECUNDUM MATHEUM

TITULO .I.	Generationum nōn . Et quod abraham apud fidem	I
.II.	Et natiuitas xpi genuit a	
.III.	Magi offerunt munera Et insanientes interficiuntur	II
.IIII.	Regressio thū exaegypto innazare	III
.V.	Depatrismo iohannis inIordane . expi baptismate	IIII
.VI.	Ubi thc temptatur adiabolo . Et ieiunat .xl. diebus	V
.VII.	Ubi iohannes traditus est . Et deserit thc magdaleam et petrum et andream	VI
.VIII.	Et iacobum et ioh piscatores uocat	
.VIIII.	Depredicatione thū et infirmoū sanitate	VII
.X.	De hesterna dimbus et eccles mandatis	VIII
.XI.	Quod nonuenit thc soluere sed adimplere . et manus relinquent	VIIII
.XII.	manere abstare . et pacem reconciliandum	X
.XIII.	Non mechandum . Et si oculus uel manus scandalizat	
.XIIII.	et pauperem nonlicere dimitti nisi obfornicationē	XI
.XV.	De lectione minoui et orandum per	XII
.XVI.	De elemosina nesciat sinistra et ieiunatione nonmultum loquendum	XIII
.XVII.	Thesaurum noncongregandū ecclie thesaurus incelo et quod lucerna corporis sit oculus	XIIII
.XVIII.	Duobus dominis nemnem debere seruire . et de uocationibus celi et de illo tenuidine dei . et nonmultum cogitandum de illis	XV
.XIX.	De festiuitate et tribulationibus euangelii et orandū fideliter	XVI
.XX.	De angustum portam et perspatiosam meandum et quod arbor bona fructus malos nonfacere	XVII
.XXIIII.	Quod nonomnis qui dicit dne et intret in regnū celorum ecclie domo edificata sup petrum et harenam	XVIII
	Et docet thc sicut potestatem habens et defendens demonia	XVIIII

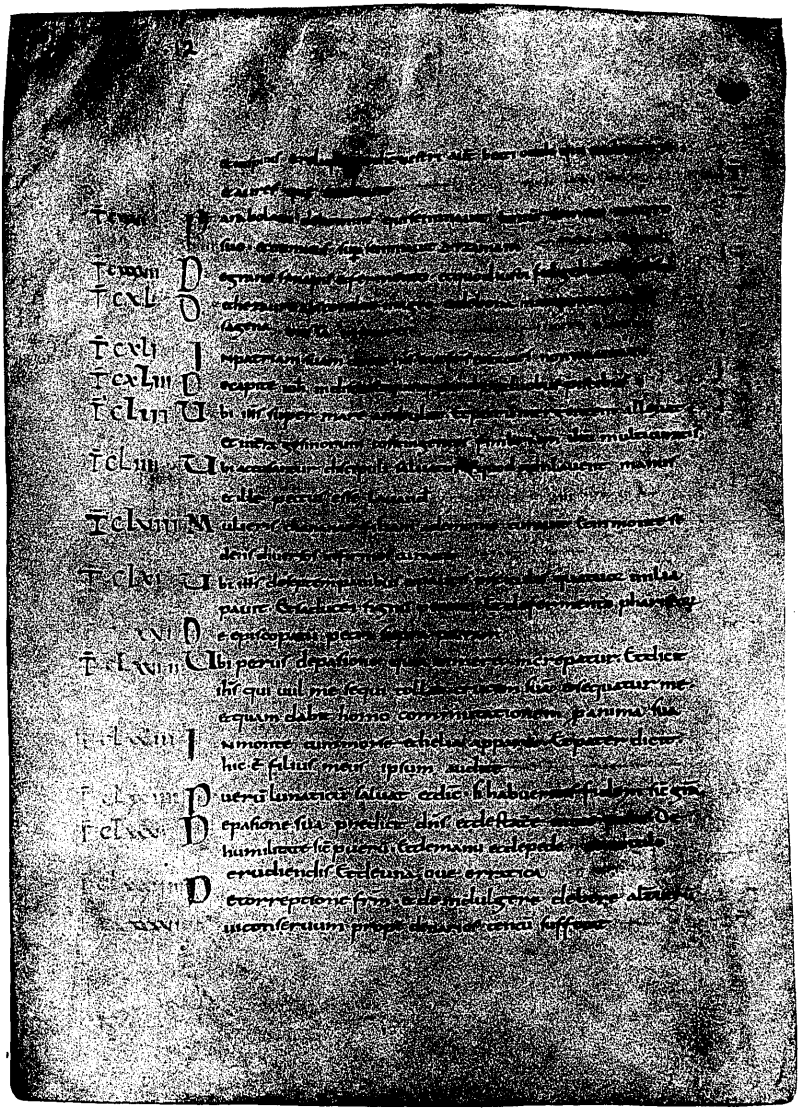
49. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 5v



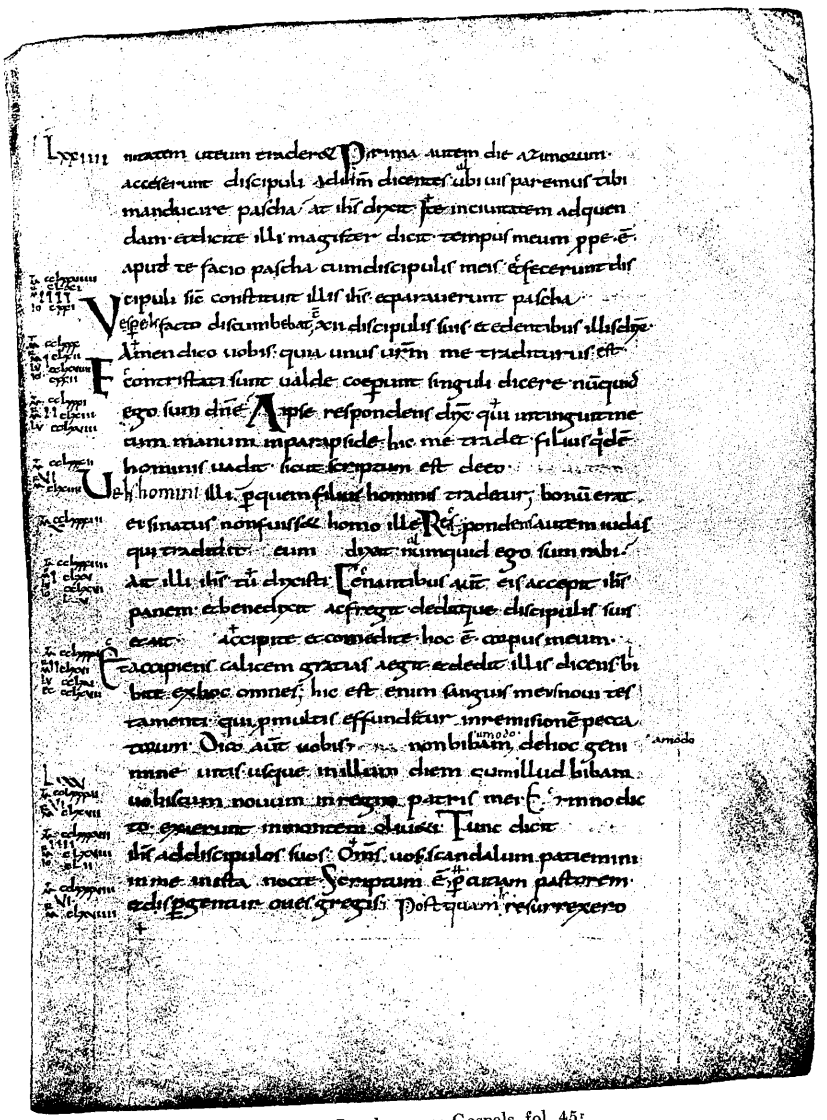
50. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 6r



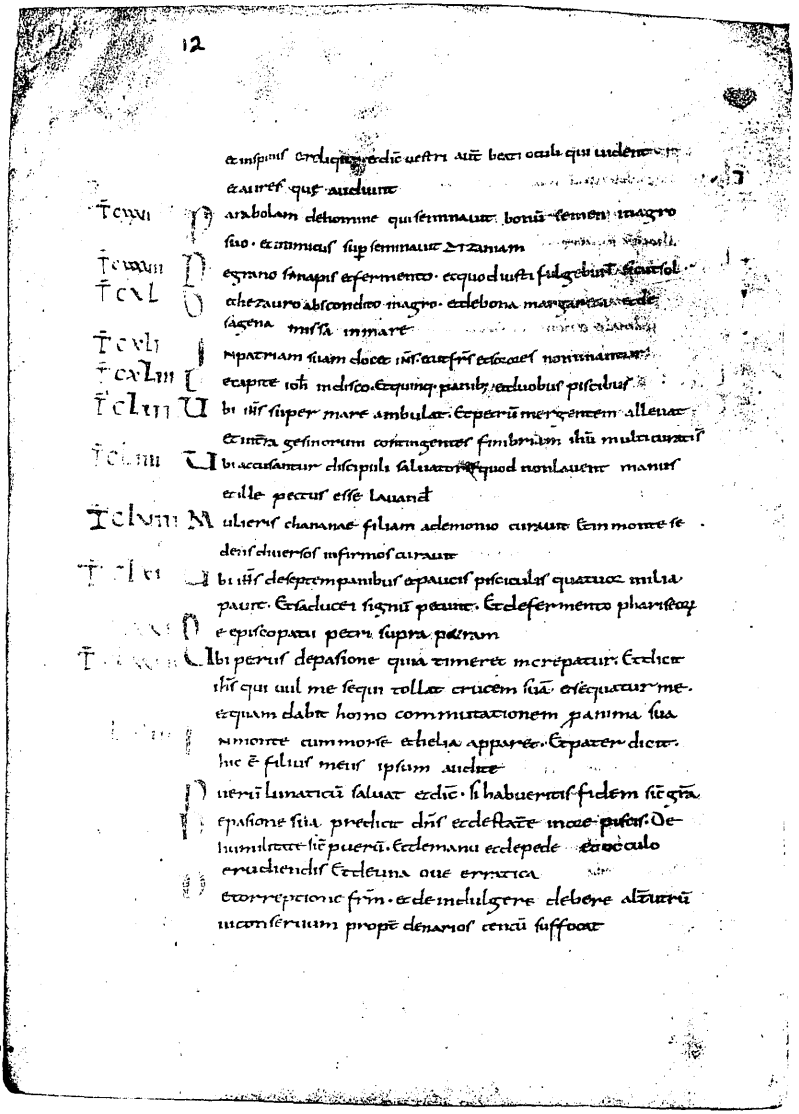
50. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 6r



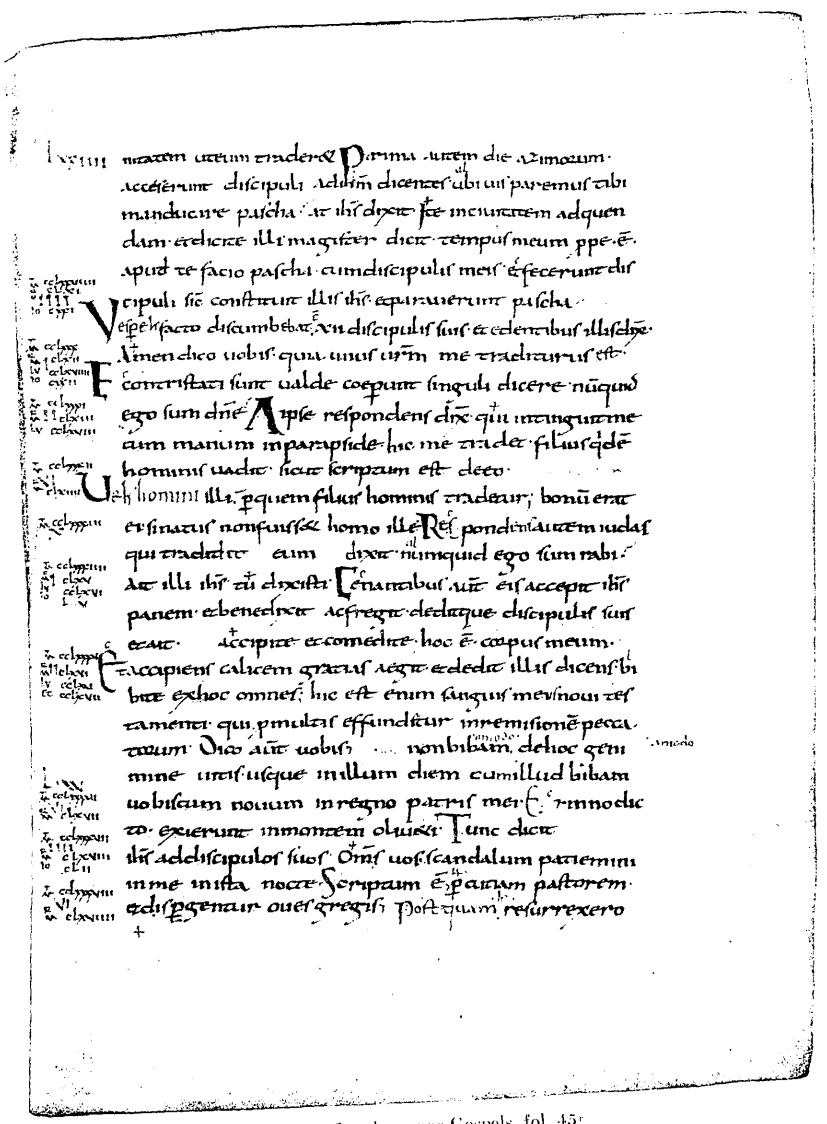
51. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 6^{v}



52. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 45r



51. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 6v



52. Landevennec Gospels, fol. 45r

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